

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XLI.



London :
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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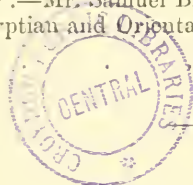
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the Cambrian Archæological Association.



PREFACE.

THE FORTY-FIRST VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains forty-one papers read at the Congress held at Tenby, in South Wales, under the presidency of THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, or during recent meetings of the Association in London. A large range of archæological subjects has been described and illustrated, and new discoveries have been put on record, by means of the *Journal*, which might otherwise have not been so promptly brought to the notice of antiquaries.

The President's Inaugural Address clearly indicated the large store of materials ready to the hands of the Society; and under the experienced guidance of the Hon. Congress Secretary, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., very few of the notable archæological features of South Pembrokeshire were left unvisited or undescribed. Add to this the papers produced at London meetings, and the result may be summed up as follows.

In Welsh Ethnology and Prehistoric Research, Mr. E. Laws, Hon. Local Secretary for Pembrokeshire, and Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A., have each contributed a

paper of interest ; the British Church has been treated of by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary ; and the Celtic and early Saxon arts of sepulchral sculpture have been exhaustively examined by Mr. J. R. Allen, the Rev. G. F. Browne, Mr. C. Lynam, and myself.

The Roman occupation of England has produced papers of considerable value, dealing with Bath, the river Trent, and southern roads, by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, Mr. C. H. Compton, Mr. J. H. Whieldon, and Dr. Wake Smart.

In the section of Mediæval History we have printed papers by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot.; Mr. A. Cope; the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A.; Miss Bevan; Mr. T. Proctor-Burroughs, F.S.A.; and the late Professor H. Halford Vaughan, whose untimely loss the Society deeply deplores.

Cathedral, Church, and Monastic Architecture and Ecclesiology have been illustrated with great research and accuracy by the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, M.A.; Mr. J. T. Irvine; Mr. C. Lynam; the Rev. G. H. Scott, M.A.; the Rev. G. Butterworth, M.A.; and Mr. T. Blashill; while Domestic Architecture has received attention at the hands of the Rev. W. O. B. Allen, M.A., and Mr. C. H. Compton.

The division of Manuscripts and Philology has been a fruitful source of papers for this volume, which embraces eight papers, by Mr. E. M. Thompson, V.P., F.S.A.; Mr. E. J. L. Scott, M.A.; Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A.;

the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., V.P.; Mr. D. Slater; Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A.; and myself.

In Fine Arts we are indebted to Dr. A. C. Fryer and Mr. Mayhew; and to Mr. T. G. Pinches for ancient Oriental seal-engraving.

Our Treasurer has contributed, in addition to his archæological papers, concise summaries of the work done during the last session and in the recent Congress at Brighton, the latter of which will prove to be prolific of results for recording in the forty-second volume, for the coming year.

Our Exhibitions have been well sustained by the exertions of Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A.; Mr. R. Way; Mr. Chase-more; Preb. H. M. Scarth, M.A., F.S.A.; Mr. T. J. Wilson, and many others, to whom the success of our evening meetings is, in a great measure, to be referred.

W. DE G. BIRCH.

31 December 1885.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for

the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1884-85 are as follow:—1884, Nov. 19, Dec. 3. 1885, January 7, 21; Feb. 4, 18; March 4, 18; April 1, 15; May 6 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 20; June 3.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen³ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen⁴ other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May⁵ in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

⁴ Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846 GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847 WARWICK . . . }	
1848 WORCESTER . . . }	
1849 CHESTER . . . }	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW . . . }	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857 NORWICH	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1859 NEWBURY	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860 SHREWSBURY	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862 LEICESTER	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, Bt.
1868 CIRENCESTER	THE EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	THE LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN	THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1884-5.

President.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

Vice-Presidents.

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MARCH 1885.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Read at the Tenby Congress, 2 Sept. 1884.)

I FIND myself to-day in a very peculiar position, since I appear in a twofold relation; first as the Bishop of this diocese welcoming the British Archæological Association on their first visit to South Wales, and then as President of the Association itself, receiving the welcome accorded to myself and to its other members by the inhabitants of Tenby and its neighbourhood. My mind reverts with pleasure to an archæological meeting held in this town just one-third part of a century since, which was presided over by the late Earl Cawdor, and in which it fell to my own lot to take a somewhat active part in the capacity of Secretary of the Cambrian Archæological Association. Some who are present to-day remember the occasion, and I am sure they will agree with me, that no more agreeable meeting of the kind was ever held, and probably very few in which more real work was done. The tact, courtesy, and culture of the President, and the exceptional ability and historical knowledge of several of the members present, among whom I would especially recall the names of Thirlwall and Freeman, contributed to make it altogether the best meeting of the sort I ever remember.

Well, much has changed since then; the world has changed, and we who remain in it are changed; while it cannot be doubted that the study of archæology has suf-

ferred considerable change also. It has grown more comprehensive in its contents, more scientific in its form, and therefore more trustworthy in its conclusions. It has long ceased to content itself with collecting facts and instances; it has grouped them into classes; it has localised their specific centres; it has formulated their laws of progress and decay. In the way of observation and inference it has not merely emulated the physical sciences, but has invoked their aid; it has come in contact, at various points, with different branches of organised human knowledge, with ethnology, with philology, and even with geology and palæontology. It has become more than ever a serviceable and trustworthy handmaid to history. This growth and consolidation of archæological science has taken place, for the most part, since the meeting of which I have just spoken.

I have carefully considered what points I could most usefully bring before you in the address which I believe it is customary for the President to deliver to the Association on these occasions. I think there is nothing likely to be more appropriate or more acceptable than a kind of *carte du pays*, telling those who are visiting the district for the first time what they may expect to see in it, referred to the various heads of archæological inquiry. I undertake this task with much hesitation, for these reasons: there are many here who know much more about the antiquities of Pembrokeshire than I do, and many more who have kept pace with recent archæological inquiry far more completely than I have, while there are, doubtless, not a few who have an advantage over me in both these respects. I wish one of this last class were in my place to-day; but as that is not the case, I can only ask all to listen patiently to my address, and to judge its faults with leniency.

Perhaps there are very few parts of the kingdom in which so many, and at the same time such various objects of archæological interest are to be found within a comparatively small area as is the case in Pembrokeshire. I think this Association has done wisely in choosing this small area as the field of its operations this year; and all the more wisely that it is so small. It has been, as I venture to think, a weak point in the arrangements of

our greater archæological societies, that at their annual meetings the members have been invited to travel over so much ground, and to go far afield, neglecting in some cases that which lay at their doors. I think the local societies have in some cases had an advantage over the two general societies in doing their local work more minutely and thoroughly, and in giving their members an opportunity of examining every inch of the ground. At the present meeting the Association will be compelled to act on the principle hitherto observed by the local societies, by the exigencies of its present geographical position; for, except in one direction, it cannot go very far from Tenby without getting into the sea, or being entangled in the long tentacles of Milford Haven. So whatever we have to do, we hope to be able to do it well.

And now let us see what we have to do. I suppose we may, with sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, make a rough fivefold division of material antiquities according to date. I think it will not be inconvenient to classify them as primæval, Roman, post-Roman, mediæval, and post-Reformation; the last being, no doubt, a very awkward term, but I do not know how to express the notion better. The name, however, is unimportant, and the more so that I do not intend to refer to any memorials of that period. I have already said that the division is a rough one; the distinction of periods is not clearly defined, and they sometimes overlap one another; for it is plain that certain antiquities which we call primæval may date from, or even after, the Roman occupation of Britain. Some of the early Christian monuments which we call post-Roman may have had their origin during that occupation, although I do not suppose that any of them did. It is very hard to say where we are to place the beginning of the middle age; although it is, perhaps, not so hard to distinguish between the decay of Roman and the development of mediæval art; while the latter did, as a matter of fact, linger on in some places even into the seventeenth century. Still, I think we must be content with the classification which I have made for lack of a better.

In primæval remains Pembrokeshire is unusually rich; but although the district in which Tenby stands is not

without them, they are most abundant in the northern and north-western parts of the county. They may be divided into villages, fortresses, sepulchral remains, and early roads or trackways. A good specimen of the first class was discovered, not many years since, on Stackpole Warren, and to this the attention of the Association will be directed at its present meeting.

Fortresses occupy many of the peninsular headlands of the Pembrokeshire coast, and many eminences in the interior. Some of them are of great size and complexity, and show considerable military skill. In some cases we have the fortress and village combined. Perhaps the best example of this combination in South Wales is visible in the well defined village-fort on St. David's Head, where the foundations of the circular houses, forming a considerable group, are defended by a system of concentric walls, of which the masonry forming the face is in some places well preserved. By what race, or by what succession of races, these hill and cliff-forts and villages were built, whether they belong to one age or many, whether they are not some of them post-Roman, whether they were used as places of permanent abode, or merely as places of occasional retreat, are questions which I would rather ask than attempt to answer, and the answers to which are perhaps still to seek. These objects are so numerous, and are so widely scattered throughout this county, that I need hardly speak of them in detail. To one of them, however, I must refer when I come to speak of antiquities of the Roman period.

Of primæval remains, intended originally as places of sepulture, the most conspicuous are the cromlechs. In this class of antiquities the county is particularly rich as regards both their number and the importance of individual examples. The great cromlech at Pentre Ievan, in Kemes, which ranks very high among those which are known to exist; the cromlech at Longhouse in Dewisland; that at Dol Wilim,—not in Pembrokeshire, indeed, but just beyond the limits of the county,—and that at Burton, in Roose, ought to be mentioned specifically. The stone circle is commonly associated with the cromlech as part of the same arrangement. Antiquities of this class are most abundant in the northern part of the

county, in the neighbourhood of the Preselly range, of the Pencaer hills, and of the St. David's rocks. Whether this fact is due to the abundance of material, or the comparative absence of cultivation (which in these as in other cases tends to the destruction of antiquarian remains), I do not pretend to decide. I learn from a recent number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* that in the particular district in which so many examples of this class survive, there also survives a venerable belief that they were intended for sacrificial purposes; in fact, that they were not tombs, but altars. In the region in which they are largely found the maenhir is also common; but this is so simple and so obvious a memorial that it is not in all cases necessary to attribute to it any high degree of antiquity. I do not learn that at any place in Pembrokeshire there have been found stones with those mysterious markings which have so greatly puzzled archæologists, which appear to be widely diffused through various parts of the world.

Of sepulchral remains of another class, barrows, tumuli, carneddau, and so forth, I believe there is good store in the county. Two in the immediate neighbourhood, viz., Carew and Norchard Beacons, were opened immediately after the Cambrian Meeting in 1851, and the results are given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of that year. Another, situated on Stackpole Warren, will, it is hoped, be examined during the present meeting.

Of ancient roads I have not much to say. One seems to run along the ridge of the Preselly Mountains, and its course is marked in the Ordnance Map. I traced another in the neighbourhood of St. David's, and what I found there may be read in the History of that place.

I have little enough to say about Roman things. You know, I doubt not, the story of a learned topographer who, in his great book on Iceland, wrote the following pithy chapter under the heading "Of Serpents.—There are no serpents in Iceland." Perhaps my chapter on Roman antiquities in Pembrokeshire had better have been equally concise, and in other respects similar. I do not know that there is any trustworthy evidence that the Romans ever got into Pembrokeshire at all.¹ We find

¹ I have certainly overstated the case: the evidence is small; but it exists.—W. B. St. D.

material traces of them in Cardiganshire and in the upper part of Carmarthenshire ; and, although I am not aware that any Roman remains have been found there in modern times, I suppose there is no doubt that Carmarthen occupies the site of a Roman town. But I see no certain evidence of Roman occupation further west than that place. Well, then, what about Menapia, the site of which is to be visited by the Association, or what remains of it, on the 11th instant ? When I last went to look for Menapia, it was supposed to be under I do not know how many feet of blown sand ; so I have no doubt it is quite safe, if it ever existed. But what is the evidence of its existence ? Richard of Cirencester, or the ingenious person who wrote under that name. On the whole, it would seem most likely that the name of Menapia is simply modified from that of Menevia, the Latin name (and, no doubt, a Latinised form of the ancient Celtic name) of the place of which I have the honour to be Bishop. The Ordnance Map finds a place for another station of Richard's, "Ad Vigesium", but does not indicate any actual remains. Nor have I ever seen any trustworthy evidence to show that anything of Roman make has been at any time discovered in the county.¹ What Fenton tells us on this head is vague and uncertain, and is mainly of the nature of hearsay evidence.

I do not know whether the point which I am now about to bring forward is of the least value. At a very short distance from Menevia, or St. David's, there are two small forts, one quadrangular, and the other circular, of which the latter seems plainly to be later than, and to have cut into, the former. It was long ago suggested to me by an accomplished archaeologist that the quadrangular fort may have been of Roman origin, and may have been afterwards adopted and adapted by some Celtic chieftain. What this conjecture is worth I leave to be determined by the Association. Indeed, I do not know how far the form of the object in question can be taken as evidence of its date or origin.

I come now to the post-Roman period. By this I

¹ See, however, the Nevern and Cwmgloyn stones figured in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*, Pl. LI.—W. B. St. D.

mean the interval between the withdrawal of the Roman forces from Britain, and the development of the mediæval system in Church, State, and Art. But this definition must be taken with two or three grains of salt. In the first place it may very well be, as I have already hinted, that certain so called primæval antiquities really belong to this period. I do not suppose that this part of Britain was ever thoroughly Romanised, and I do not doubt that in many things the people went on in their own ways all through the Roman occupation, and longer. Very likely some of the hill and cliff-forts belong to this time, as, for example, one near St. David's, of which I have just spoken. Leland, in speaking of St. David's, speaks of the "two castles of Boia". One of these is, no doubt, the rude rampart crowning a steep, isolated rock called "Clegyr Foia"; the circular fort cutting into the quadrangular one, which lies near it, may be the other. But Boia appears in legend as the heathen chieftain who thwarted St. David in his work. The legend may be worthless, or later tradition may have connected it, according to its wont, with a monument of much more ancient date. On the other hand, the tradition may be true, and these remains may have been the work of Boia.

Again, there can be little doubt that there was much heathenism in the district after the withdrawal of the Roman power. Before this date Christianity seems to have taken a somewhat feeble hold on the country, and to have chiefly influenced the Roman towns. It was about the sixth century that a rapid and energetic development of Christian life seems to have taken place in Wales, and generally in Western Britain, mainly through the agency of a peculiar monastic system. Now in the lives of the British saints of this period (which appear to be too unanimous in this respect to be otherwise than trustworthy) Christian teachers are always represented as having to struggle with positive heathenism. Assuming this to be true, the heathen inhabitants of the country, no doubt, went on burying, and perhaps burning, their dead in the old heathen way; so that many places of burial which we consider primæval may have been really of this date. A few years ago I was re-opening the parish church of Hasgurd in this county.

I was told that the churchyard, which is (if I recollect right) unnecessarily large for the parish now, must have been curtailed, as there were graves to be seen in an adjoining farmyard and field. True enough, there they were; but I do not believe that those graves were ever dug in any Christian churchyard. They were regular kists formed of rude stones. At the same time I think it likely enough that they were post-Roman. The labour of excavation at this place would surely not be thrown away.

The most important and interesting remains of this period are the monumental stones, lettered or unlettered, but manifestly Christian, which abound in this part of the Principality, and of which a large collection of drawings is published in Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*. I am indebted for much that I am going to say about these to a very valuable paper on the Ilkley Crosses in the last number of the *Journal* of this Association, by an able archæologist connected with this county, Mr. J. Romilly Allen. Mr. Allen, in the paper to which I refer, divides the Christian monuments of this country into three periods, to the first of which he gives the name of "Early Christian", and fixes its two limits at the landing of Augustine on the one hand, and the Norman conquest on the other. He further divides this period into two, of which the earlier is characterised by "rough, unhewn monoliths, erect, with incised crosses, sometimes accompanied by an inscription in debased Latin capitals or Oghams." These he attributes "to the period when paganism was being superseded by the new faith." The monuments of the later period are marked by the peculiar, interlaced ornamentation found on what are commonly but improperly called Runic crosses, of which we have conspicuous examples at Carew and Nevern in this county. These later monuments are assigned by Mr. Allen to the three centuries preceding the Norman conquest. If this view is one to be relied upon, I suppose we may regard the earlier and simpler memorials (some of which, by the by, may possibly be older than the landing of St. Augustine) as due, like the more ancient inscriptions in the Catacombs, to the age in which the Church was struggling for existence in the country, and

fighting its way, sometimes through much suffering, to a recognised position ; while the art and labour lavished on the more recent monuments mark a time in which the Church was settled, established, and at rest. If this is true it is impossible to exaggerate the interest attaching to the earlier class of monuments. It is true that the names they record are in most cases otherwise unknown to us, although I believe one or two of them have found a place in the legends and genealogies of the Celtic saints. Still they remain as tangible memorials of a time of which we have no contemporary record (if we may except the curious document which bears the name of Gildas), and about which nearly all that we can be said to know comes to us in the way of inference from later uncritical legends. Still I would observe this :— Mr. Romilly Allen has shown that these rude memorials, which are very numerous in the Southern division of the Principality, radiated from Ireland as their specific centre. This fact both illustrates and supports what is inferred from other sources as to the reflex influence of Irish Christianity at this period, not only on Britain, but even on the Continent of Europe. It is to monuments of this date that I should especially apply the title of post-Roman. The inscriptions, at least in South Wales (though occasionally either in the Ogham character, and in a Celtic language, or else bi-literal and bi-lingual), are most commonly in Latin, and in debased Roman letters, while the names recorded are very commonly Roman names more or less corrupted. Everything betokens a lingering shadow of Roman influence. In the later monuments, on the other hand, which we may consider transitional, we have a foretaste of mediæval art. They may be presumed to have been contemporaneous with that earlier and simpler form of Romanesque architecture which is much more common on the Continent than among ourselves, the earliest specimens of which in England may perhaps be found in the work attributed to St. Wilfrid at Hexham and at Ripon, to the later English examples of which we give the name of Anglo-Saxon, and which (to judge from specimens of the style remaining in that country) appears to have attained to considerable excellence in Ireland.

Of architecture of this date there are no existing traces in Pembrokeshire, unless we are to ascribe to it a singular group of crosses inserted in a niche behind the high altar of St. David's Cathedral,¹ and possibly a few stones with interlaced work, which have been built up into the central tower. Nor am I aware that any other building in Wales contains even a fragment of such architecture, unless the ornamentation on the tympanum of the doorway in Llanbadarn Fawr Church, Radnorshire, should be thought to belong to it; for there we certainly find, in full force and vigour, what Mr. Romilly Allen describes as characteristic of the date, namely, "conventional animals with intertwined bodies, limbs, and tails."

I come now to mediæval architecture, and begin, of course, with sacred buildings. I may safely say that there is no real Norman church architecture in Pembrokeshire, or, with one exception, in the three south-western counties of Wales. The sole exception, so far as I am aware, is the fine chancel-arch of St. Clear's, in Carmarthenshire. Probably, during the period in which this style was in vogue our churches were very poor and small, while the country was unsettled, and a battle-ground of races. There is nothing of this date even at St. David's. No doubt the Celtic bishops were content to go on in their own way; and although the earliest Norman bishops in other sees generally rebuilt their cathedrals in the fashion of the day, perhaps neither Bernard nor David Fitzgerald were quite the men to set about so great a work; but when Peter de Leia came to the see a new architectural period had already dawned, and the great bulk of our cathedral church is built in successive modifications of this transitional style. Of course it exhibits alterations, additions, and insertions of various dates down to the beginning of the sixteenth century; and its history, as it has to be read in the traces of these numerous changes, presents an interesting and at the same time a difficult problem to the archæologist.

But I cannot dwell upon these points in detail at present, nor have I any right to anticipate what will, no doubt, be brought before some of you more fully on the

¹ Apparently of different dates, but some of them certainly later.—
W. B. St. D.

spot. I will only say this, that while the cathedral church of St. David's takes a low rank, in point of actual dimensions, among the minsters of this country, I know of nothing in the world so impressive. The wild country which surrounds it, the sense of isolation, the neighbourhood of the sea, and the consciousness of its being on almost every side of you, the marvellous picturesqueness of the ruined buildings in the midst of which it stands, undoubtedly enhance the influence of the impression which it produces when it is first seen from without. But the effect of the exterior, which must be admitted to depend in some degree upon these accessories, is far less imposing than the first view of the interior on entering by the south porch; above all, in the low light of evening. The complicated richness of the Romanesque mouldings, the deep and solemn colouring of the native stone, the strange and fantastic details of the flat ceiling and its pendants, and (now) the painting, gilding, and mosaic dimly visible within the darkened choir, combine to render this one of the most striking architectural views in this country or anywhere. But, again, I must not anticipate.

The chief conventual churches in Pembrokeshire, at all events of which any remains exist, are St. Dogmael's, Monkton, Pill, and Haverfordwest Priors. Of these, two only come within the scope of the Association at present, Monkton and Haverfordwest. The former, the nave of which is in use as the parish church, and the choir it is intended to restore, is utterly unlike anything I ever saw, in the way of proportion. It is a long, aisleless choir attached to a long, aisleless nave, and having a large chapel to the north of the choir—forming, however, a distinct building. In fact it looks like three churches in contact, and perhaps it really was so; for although it is most difficult to say exactly how the opening from the nave into the choir was managed, there are symptoms which incline me to believe that it was little more than a doorway; so that the choir and nave would have the appearance of being (what they, no doubt, were as regards their use) two distinct churches.

At Haverfordwest the ruins do not give any certain indication of what the church was like; but I should

infer from what I have seen that it was a cruciform church of the thirteenth century, certainly without aisles, and probably with a central tower. This was a not uncommon Welsh arrangement for important churches: witness the Abbey church of Talley, and the minster of Llanbadarn Fawr in Cardiganshire.

The two most important parish churches in the county, architecturally, are St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, and St. Mary's, Tenby. The former is quite one of the most interesting churches in Wales, and nowhere, perhaps, in the Principality is there better detail. The latter is striking, but of a somewhat unusual type in Wales. Its ground-plan and arrangements partly resemble some of the larger Cornish churches.

None of the churches which I have mentioned, with the single exception of Monkton Priory, exhibit the characteristic features of Pembrokeshire parish churches. This singular type is found, as a rule, only within the English-speaking districts of the county; and I believe no specimens of it are found (within those districts) on the shores of St. Bride's Bay. Their main features are tall and slender towers, generally diminishing as they rise, a general rudeness of masonry, and internally much vaulting, with side-chapels and squints, and many holes and corners, and a general effect of cavern-like obscurity. Of these churches I do not know that a more typical example can be found than Manorbier, in this neighbourhood. They are very peculiar, but more in their general tone and effect than in any particular details. I know nothing like them anywhere else. Unhappily (I am speaking now as an archæologist, not as a Bishop), the hand of the restorer has been somewhat busy with them, and it is not always easy to make out how much one is to believe of what one sees. I ought, in passing, to call attention to one very beautiful parish church in this neighbourhood, which is not all of the Pembrokeshire type. I mean Carew, where it is pretty easy to recognise the hand of my predecessor, Bishop Henry Gower.

Then we come to another class of antiquities, both numerous and conspicuous in this district. Pembrokeshire is a perfect Paradise of castles. Not to mention others, three remarkably interesting ones are within easy

reach of this place,—Manorbier, which is, perhaps, the most picturesque of the Pembrokeshire castles, especially when looked at in connection with its surroundings; Carew, which is the most complete, and which, like Kenilworth, contains portions which mark the castellated manor-house rather than the castle properly so called; and Pembroke, the queen of South Welsh castles, and certainly one of the most impressive masses of building I have ever seen. One more castle must be specially mentioned, both on account of its inherent interest and because some of those who hear me are to pay a visit to it next week. I mean Picton, which presents the unusual feature of a mediæval fortress (for it was a real fortress, and not a mere castellated manor-house) remaining in the occupation of the ancient family which owned it down to the present time. Considering that it is at this time a convenient mansion, to which a large addition was made early in the present century, there has been far less destruction of its original features than could have been expected to be the case.

Of domestic remains of the middle ages there are, in addition to minor buildings and fragments, to which I need not now refer, but which are numerous, two great habitations of my predecessors; one undoubtedly, and the other (in part at least) very probably, the work of Bishop Henry Gower. The Palace at St. David's is quite one of the best pieces of mediæval domestic architecture in the kingdom. Its style and arrangements are peculiar to itself and to two other buildings commonly attributed to the same Prelate, while it presents to the archæologist the unusual spectacle of a great mediæval house partially ruined indeed, but otherwise left very much as it was built. It dates from the early part of the fourteenth century, and exhibits few, if any, traces of later addition or change. I suspect the secret of this to have been, that my predecessors never found St. David's a convenient or perhaps a very comfortable place to live at, so that they did not care to adapt their house to the requirements of their own times. I think it likely that it was largely used during the first two centuries of its existence for receiving the numerous pilgrims who came to St. David's. Soon after the Reformation it fell into decay. Undoubtedly

the Bishops' favourite place of residence, when they were in the diocese at all, was Lamphey, to which I have already alluded, though not by name. Whether this is to be regarded as an earlier attempt in the style which culminated in the St. David's Palace, or as a feeble imitation of it, has been disputed, and I will not now stop to consider. All I can say is that it is very like, and greatly inferior to it.

This mention of episcopal houses leads me to notice the Bishop's baronial castle of Llawhaden, which I hope some of you will see next week. If you have reason to find fault with its present condition, please to remember that it does not belong to me, but to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.

I must at this point bring to a close my remarks upon the material and tangible antiquities of the county; but there are one or two other points which deserve notice. First, there was, perhaps, no other part of the kingdom in which the feudal system was more thoroughly developed in the middle ages than was the case in Pembrokeshire. The great distance of the district from the central authority, and the neighbourhood of a hostile and restless race, gave the local lords of the soil a position more nearly resembling that which their compeers occupied in France and Germany than was generally to be found elsewhere in England, except (from similar causes) in the north. The earldom of Pembroke was, in fact, a palatinate: the lordship of Kemes remains to this day, perhaps, the best specimen of a lordship marcher, although it is, of course, shorn of much of the power with which its lords were anciently invested; while within his barony of Llawhaden and his lordship of Dewisland, the Bishop of St. David's occupied a position analogous to that of his brethren at Durham and at Ely.

A carefully written history of mediæval Pembrokeshire would be a work full of intense historical and even romantic interest; and the interest would be largely enhanced by the fact that two races, different in origin, language, feeling, and traditions, were found here, as they are still found, side by side. One cannot help regretting that no work of fiction by a master-hand, like that of Scott, has ever had its scene laid in this county. That

great writer of romance did, indeed, attempt to describe the social condition of the Welsh Marches; but the sketch was a slight one, and the results were not very satisfactory; while he placed on the eastern border of the Principality the curious settlement which is recorded to have been planted in the district in which we are now gathered. I speak, of course, of the Flemings; and to judge from my experience on a former occasion, I do not doubt that we shall hear enough of the Flemings before we separate. Perhaps I may be allowed to say a little about them now.

A very slight notice of this settlement has been developed by the antiquarian imagination in a much greater manner than we can find it very easy to accept as historical. The establishment of a certain number of strangers of Teutonic blood and speech has been commonly regarded as a sufficient explanation of the curious phenomenon which here presents itself to the ethnologist, namely, the prevalence of the English language throughout the south-western portion of this county; not at present only, but, as is plain from the names of places, for centuries past. Curiously enough, another but a smaller district, which occupies a similar position, and which, like the "*Anglia Trans-Walliana*" of Pembrokeshire, is cut off from England by the Welsh race, is similarly supposed to have been colonised by Flemings, without any evidence, so far as I know, that any of that race ever established themselves there. I speak of the peninsula of Gower, in which a supposed Flemish colony is, I believe, merely an inference from the alleged existence of such a colony in Pembrokeshire. I am inclined to think that the Flemish settlement in Pembrokeshire was by no means large enough to cover the facts before us, while I have no reason to believe that any such settlement was made in Gowerland at all. In each case the country was thoroughly conquered and settled by invaders from England, having been, doubtless, attacked from the side of the sea; and the old inhabitants, who, to judge from the names of places in both districts, seem long to have maintained a separate existence in the midst of their conquerors, were at length absorbed and assimilated. The Pembrokeshire "*Anglia Trans-Walliana*" was a district nearly resembling the

Irish pale, and, like that, was known as the "Englishry". It may be a question, however, whether the way had not been paved for this conquest, settlement, and ultimate assimilation of the original inhabitants by Scandinavian settlements on the coast and on the shores of Milford Haven. We read much in the chronicles of St. David's of incursions of Danes and Northmen; and though there is no direct historical evidence of anything beyond passing invasions, the names of some places in Pembrokeshire seem to point to something like a settled occupation at certain points. Skokholm and Skomar, Haverford and Milford, Fishguard and Hasguard, all look more or less that way. Although it is said to be the corruption of a Welsh name, I have great doubts whether Tenby is not really Scandinavian;¹ while that of Freystrop, if not of Northern origin (which it very well may be), must surely date from a time when the Teutonic people who built or occupied the village worshipped the gods of their heathen forefathers, which certainly cannot be supposed of the Flemish settlers of the twelfth century. I throw out these suggestions for the consideration of the Association at its present meeting.

And now I must draw what I have had to say to a close. I am conscious of having left many *lacunæ*, and of having, in all probability, made several mistakes; but you must take these remarks as a slight and hasty sketch of the antiquities of the district, and nothing more. It only remains for me to tender to the members of the Association my most grateful thanks for the conspicuous honour which has been done to me in their choice of a President for this year, and at the same time to wish them a pleasant, prosperous, and profitable meeting.

¹ Tenby *may* be, as it is commonly supposed to be, a corruption of Dinbych; although it is at least as likely that Dinbych is a corruption of Tenby, as the Welsh inhabitants or neighbours may have tried to give the Scandinavian name a form which was significant in their own language: compare Hwlfordd for Haverford, and probably Henffordd for Hereford. It is true that the Scandinavian termination in -by is not common in the district, though there is at least one other instance, Colby, near Narberth. On the other hand, the frequent termination in -ton, while it fails to mark Scandinavian influence, does not betoken the presence of Flemings.—W. B. St. D.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PHRASE, "LITTLE ENGLAND BEYOND WALES."

BY ARTHUR COPE, ESQ.

(*Read 3rd Sept. 1884.*)

ALTHOUGH the origin of the above phrase, like the rest of ancient Welsh history, is somewhat obscure (and at the present day the phrase itself exists only in local tradition), it may, upon good authority, be traced to the forcible establishment by Henry I, King of England, of a colony of foreigners, called Flemings, in a district called Rhos, including the town of Tenby, and surrounded and separated from the rest of England by the hostility of the natives of the country, the descendants of the ancient Demetæ or Welsh. Upon this occasion it will be unnecessary to enter into the question of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the old historians with respect to the advent of these Flemings. Suffice it if I lay before you such extracts from their writings, with due reserve, as will elucidate the reason for the tradition in question, and enable a conclusion to be drawn as to the probability of its origin. A short review of the state of affairs so far as they affected this part of England about the commencement of the reign of Henry I, will, perhaps, make the subject clearer.

William the Conqueror had, it is true, marched a mighty army through Wales as far as St. David's: experience, however, has shown that such a proceeding does not subdue a nation of mountaineers. It was found, in fact, that the Norman army, being chiefly composed of cavalry encumbered with heavy armour, was unable to act among the steep precipices and narrow paths of the mountains, and in consequence was suffering severe reverses at the hands of the Welsh princes. At the same time great inconvenience was being caused by the Flemings, who had come over to England, some in the reign of William I, seeking the protection of his Queen (who, it will be remembered, was a daughter of Baldwin, fifth

Count of Flanders); others, in the succeeding reign, either in consequence of inundations of the sea, or oppression of rulers, in their country, were, it is said, then sorely pestering and endamaging Henry's English subjects. At this juncture, that is to say about the year 1105, a further inundation of the sea in Flanders afforded Henry the opportunity of executing a bold stroke of policy, namely, to purge and disburden his own country of the Flemings, and at the same time quell and keep back the courage of his enemies, the Welsh.

It would occupy too much time to compare all the narratives of the old historians upon this subject. I propose, therefore, to give you the following *résumé* of them:—"A multitude of Flemings who had been driven out of their dwellings by the inundation of the sea on their coast in the year 1105 (which, as similar inundations had happened previously, was not extraordinary), petitioned Henry to permit them to settle in some part of his dominions which was waste and void of inhabitants. Henry, upon this, being very liberal with what was not his own, assigned them the land of Rhos in Dyfed, or West Wales, where Tenby, Pembroke, and Haverfordwest are now built, and there they remain to this day."

The account given of this event by the *Brut y Tywysogion*, or *Chronicle of the Princes*, is in these words:—"The year after that (1105), a certain nation not recognised in respect of origin and manners, and unknown as to where it had been concealed on the island for a number of years, was sent by King Henry into the country of Dyfed; and that nation seized the whole country of Rhos, near the efflux of the river called Cleddy, having driven off the people completely. That nation, as it is said, was driven from Flanders, the country which is situate nearest to the sea of the Britons. This was on account of the encroachment of the sea on their country, the whole region having been reduced to disorder, and bearing no produce, owing to the sand being cast into the land by the tide of the sea. At last, when they could get no space to inhabit, as the sea had poured over the maritime land, and the mountains were full of people, so that all could not dwell there on account of the multitude of men and the scantiness of the land, that nation craved of

King Henry, and besought him to assign a place where they might dwell; and they then were sent into Rhos, expelling from thence the proprietary inhabitants, who thus lost their own country and place from that time until the present day.”

The petition of these unfortunates, who, there is every reason to believe, consisted of the lower orders, without leaders, and disposable as artificers and manufacturers at the will of the Normans, having been granted, Henry availed himself of the opportunity to compel the Flemings, who, as I have before said, had migrated into England during the two previous reigns, to join the newly formed colony at Rhos.

Doubts have been expressed as to the probability of the establishment of an actual “colony” of Flemings; a body composed, that is, of men, women, and children, in the midst of a hostile population, on the ground that, whilst most of the chronicles of the period assert the fact of the occupation, they are absolutely silent, first, as to the means used for the transport of such a multitude both by sea and land; secondly, as to the number of the supposed colonists; and thirdly, as to the nature of their settlement: the contrary suggestion being that it was merely a military occupation by a troop of Flemish mercenaries. Allowing somewhat for exaggeration, and judging by the fact as related, that on a particular occasion, about the same period, as many as three thousand Flemings were landed on the East Coast, it is possible that the sea-passage was not so difficult as might be imagined. William of Malmesbury expressly mentions that Henry’s reason for removing the Flemings was that a great number who in those days flocked into England had become burdensome, “wherefore”, he says, “he sent them altogether, with their substance, their wives, and children, into Rosse.”

The following narratives, taken from the *Tywysogion*, of attacks by Welsh princes upon towns built and inhabited entirely, apparently, by Flemings, are in favour of the presumption of a mixed settlement of the Flemings. Among the events therein stated to have happened during the year 1113 is the following. Gruffydd, son of Rhys, a Welsh prince, proceeded to Ceredigion Iscoed,

and there he attacked a place called Blaen Porth Hodnant, which had been built by a certain Flemish prince named Gilbert, son of Rickert, and inhabited by the Flemings. Many men of the town were killed, and the greatest part of it burnt.

More than one hundred years later the Flemings appear to have been still in existence in Pembrokeshire, for in the year 1220 the Flemings of Rhos and Pembroke having by their depredations broken a treaty of peace, Llewelyn, son of Iorwerth, with other Welsh princes marched with an army against them. He first attacked the Castle of Arberth (Narberth), which the Flemings had built after having been formerly destroyed by the Welsh; and he obtained the Castle by force, and threw it to the ground, after killing, burning, and capturing the garrison. The following day he destroyed the Castle of Gwys, and burnt the town. The third day he came to Haverford, and burnt the whole of the town to the Castle gate; and thus he went round Rhos and Dewgledy in five days, making vast slaughter of the people of the country; and after making a truce with the Flemings until the calends of May, he returned back joyful and happy.

This colony, thus composed partly of Flemish military adventurers fighting for the sake of plunder, partly of artificers, commanded by Norman leaders, under whose direction, there is reason to believe, some of the castles in this county, together with (as some say) the town of Tenby itself, were erected,—whose losses by the terrible vicissitudes of war and pestilence were constantly recruited in Henry II's reign by drafts of indigent or mutinous Flemish and Norman military adventurers,—held its own, and effected the purpose for which Henry had designed it. In the words of Speed's account of Pembrokeshire, printed in 1631, "They deceived not his (Henry I's) expectations, but so carried themselves in his quarrel that they seldom communicated with their neighbours; so that to this day they speak not their language, and the county is yet called 'Little England beyond Wales.'" "No wonder", says Fenton, "that such a part of this county as was so colonised, and continued to inherit prejudices (not yet fairly eradicated), to keep them a separate people, should be called 'Little England beyond Wales', and in the eye

of the law considered as part of England; for at a time when the maxim was allowed, '*Breve domini Regis non currit in Walliam*', yet by many records still extant it is clear that the King's writ did run into what Camden calls '*Anglia Transwallina*', including the jurisdiction of the earldom of Pembroke, which extended only to those parts of it where the English tongue was spoken."

Giraldus speaks highly of the character of these inhabitants of Rhos and Haverfordwest. He describes them as a people brave and robust, ever most hostile to the Welsh,—“a people, I say, well versed in commerce and woollen manufactures; a people anxious to seek gain by sea or land, in defiance of fatigue or danger; a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword; a people brave and happy, if Wales (as it ought to have been) had been dear to its sovereigns.”

Even so late as at the commencement of the present century a marked difference, it is said, might have been observed both in language, manners, dress, and even physiognomy, between this and neighbouring districts; and though the phrase, “Little England beyond Wales”, had probably, after the cessation of active hostility, passed into a tradition, the distinction was maintained under the terms “Englishery and Welshery”. This distinction has, socially speaking, occasioned serious difficulties. It is asserted, amongst others, that cases have arisen at the assizes for the county attended with great inconvenience; for that it had occurred upon a trial by jury that one half of the jury could not understand the other; and when it was explained to them, they have refused to concur in a verdict; and instances have been recorded where they have fasted three days together before they have been reduced to a compromise of unanimity. Be this as it may, I will conclude the subject by expressing a hope that at the present day the antipathies I have mentioned have passed into oblivion, and that Her Majesty's Judges have not been called upon to attribute difficulties which may have occurred with their juries, at the last assizes, to the ancient colony of Flemings calling themselves “Little England beyond Wales.”

THE ETHNOLOGY OF PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY E. LAWS, ESQ., HON. LOCAL SECRETARY TO THE TENBY
CONGRESS OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION.

(*Read 3rd Sept. 1884.*)

COMING man must necessarily be of mixed blood. Locomotion is welding the races, wedding north to south, and giving the east in marriage to the west. In a few years or centuries, as the case may be, tribes of unmixed blood will cease to exist, unless, peradventure, some poor remnants may be found as fugitives driven to the uttermost parts of the earth, in no way influencing the progress of the mongrel majority. But the earth is not large enough for absolute equality: the best men will always lord it over the best land. The immutable law will ever be in force, "To him that hath shall be given." The fittest will survive, and wrest earth's pleasant places from their weaker brethren. Who will lead the van in those days to come? Will it be a nation through whose veins runs a mixture of the blood of all the peoples, the perfection of miscegenation? Or will the chosen people be men whose fathers have restricted themselves to Aryan wives; who have married, indeed, Hindoos, Persians, Kelts, Latins, Slaves, Teutons, and Scandinavians, but carefully eschewed the allophyllian daughters of Heth? Who can say? To such as care for questions of this nature, the history of a very small isolated district into which many immigrations of completely distinct races have been poured in almost appreciable proportions, must prove an interesting study. If this be so, South Pembrokeshire, though a mere microcosm, is worthy of attention. In looking back we may at once dismiss pleistocene man from our pedigree. If he ever did live in Pembrokeshire, and has left any descendants, they must be looked for among the Eskimo tribes rather than in lower latitudes.

But man of the later stone age has left his mark in the land. On our mountains and moorlands megalithic monuments stand out grey and ghost-like. These cromlechs

are probably the graves of the neolithic Silurian race. In our caves, too, we find their skeletons. The cliff-castles were their fortresses. We find the foundations of their huts. From their refuse-heaps we discover that they fed on ox, horse, sheep, goat, red deer, roebuck, dog, brown bear, gull, eagle, cormorant, blackcock. They were fishermen and longshore-men, using great quantities of limpets, mussels, cockles, whelks, etc. According to Professor Rhys, than whom there is no better authority, even some relics of their language reached into historic times. He considers that Octopitaron, the classic name of St. David's Head, and Mona Judæorum, the archaic appellation of the city itself, were corruptions of the non-Aryan names given to these places by their Silurian inhabitants. You will possibly, in the course of your wanderings, come across small-boned, long-headed, dark-haired men and women. These are supposed to be the descendants of this old non-Aryan race. Some few years ago it was the custom in this county, after a couple were married at church or chapel, that the wedding party should all mount on horseback, and then, having given the bride and bridegroom a fair start, race after them. In case the lady was caught, the captor claimed a kiss from her, and her husband was bound to provide beer for the party by way of ransom. There can be no doubt that this ceremony was a reminiscence of marriage by capture, and as old as Silurian times. In their earliest days these folks had community of women; then, as civilisation advanced, every man was allowed to capture a slave-wife, who became his very own. The bride-hunt represented the captured woman's friends attempting to retake her from her captor, and the farce continued long after all recollection of girl-snatching was lost.

The next actors that strut on our stage are the Goidels, the Aryan vanguard, who are believed to have come from Central Asia, and who certainly conquered Central Europe. They were in a comparatively advanced stage of civilisation, having acquired the art of metal smelting. These tall, round-headed, fair-haired folks with their bronze weapons made short work of the little, dark-skinned Silures. The Goidel element strongly predominates in the Pembrokeshire blood. They were the dominant race

for a very long period. Their bronze weapons and implements are not uncommon, and are sometimes found in cliff-castles and other places which contain stone implements, showing that the two so-called periods of bronze and stone overlapped, and the races commingled. The bronze age graves are round, and the bodies were cremated. It has been suggested that this points to the fact that with bronze a new religion was introduced. The Silurian placed his dead in a sitting posture, putting his weapons by his side, with food, and sometimes attendants in the grave to aid him on his last journey, as though he were to succeed or fail in reaching the final rest according to his own strength or weakness. The bronze age Goidel burned his dead, burnt the food, and broke the weapons, in order that their ghosts might follow that of their master, purified by the searching flame from all taint of earth. The Goidels seem to have acquired the art of iron smelting while in this country, for on Stackpole Warren and elsewhere stone and bronze implements are found mingled with iron slag. Whether stone circles, avenues, and maenhirs are Silurian or Goidel is unknown. Eventually the aboriginal Silurian seems to have got the upper hand of his Goidel conqueror, for when the Roman arrived the former was certainly in the ascendant.

The Romans made very little impression on this corner of the earth. Their legions, doubtless, marched and countermarched through the county, dropping, as was their custom, a good deal of small money from their pocketless garments. A very pretty little Roman dagger, made of bronze, was found near Kilgerran towards the beginning of the century. I myself have found a few fragments of Samian ware. About seven miles from Haverfordwest, in a village called Ford, a Roman building once stood, of which the hypocausts still remain, and which deserves attention. During the Roman occupation of Britain troops were constantly recruited from the Menapii, a tribe living at the mouth of the Rhine. May not these Dutchmen while serving under the Roman eagles have given its name to our Pembrokeshire Menapia? Of course we know that there is an Irish place of the same name; but very many Pembroke places and personal names have

found their way across St. George's Channel. Eventually the Roman passed away, leaving as his memorials a few halfpence and some broken crockery, and a sample of brickbats. "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

The next important transaction was the introduction of Christianity. The stream of missionaries seems to have set in from two points. One party were Goidels, and the other Kymry. This latter people having been pressed out of Cumberland by the English, seem to have wrested the greater part of Wales from its Goidel-Silurian occupants. The western shore held out longest against the invader. The priest preceded the conqueror. The Goidel saint seems to have been first in the field. To him we owe those strange, sepulchral stones inscribed in that curious character we call Ogham, and which abound in Pembrokeshire. The missionary priests, both Goidel and Kymric, were very frequently martyred, proving thereby that Roman Christianity in West Wales, if it existed, was of a very superficial type. The Goidel and Kymric missionaries have given their names to very many of our villages. After the former are named Clydai, Llanfernach, Llangolman, Llanstadwell, St. Bride's, St. Dogmael's, St. Edren's, St. Petrox. To the Kymry we are indebted for St. David's, Llandeilo, St. Ismael's, St. Issell's, St. Elveis, and many others. We must make the most of these, for when the Kymry succeeded in vanquishing the Goidels, they were satisfied to give their name to the soil. They never coined a coin, nor placed one stone upon another.

To these rather uninteresting people came a new race of a very different type, the Scandinavian. We can only guess at the numerical strength of the colony by the frequent occurrence of Scandinavian place-names. In 869 Hubba, Hinguar's brother, wintered in the Haven. Hubbaston marks the place. Perhaps he also christened the great estuary.

I suppose a great many people imagine that Milford Haven is called after Milford town; but, in truth, the latter was built and named at the end of the eighteenth century. The former was known as Midfjord Haven in the ninth. Most likely the Norsemen formed alliances with the natives. The chieftain may have been followed

by Gudruna or Thorgerda, perchance by both, for polygamy was a Scandinavian custom. But the simple wiking was well content to carry off some Goidel "Graine" or Kymric "Gwenllian", and make her his *frilla*. Doubtless there was wild wooing after a foray; but still the Norseman was good to women, so we may fairly fancy that often the poor, frightened slave ere long enslaved her captor, and ruling his house made it her own, so that his people became her people, and his gods her gods. She forsook St. David's, and worshipped at Freya's Thorp (Freysthrop), was reminded of Odin at Asgard (Hassguard), and of the Christian's God at God's Car (Goscar). She brought up her young barbarians to dare the Atlantic swell as it broke on stakr, or sker, or ness; to know the ins and outs of every holm and every eye,—Stockholm and Grassholm, and Caldey and Lundy; in a word, to know, as a wiking should, every wik or wick from Goodwick to Hellwick; to love the sword-play with Gael, Kymro, or Saxon churl; aye, even to cut the war-eagle on a Norseman's quivering back. Such households we may fancy established by Havard at Haverfordwest, by Harold at Haroldstone, by Hammil at Amblestone, by Lambi at Lambstone, by Thorni at Thornstone, by Thor at Thorstone, by Wulf at Wolfscastle, by Eric at Ericks-hill, by Gunnalf at Gumfreston, by Herbrand at Herbrandston, by Hacon at Haking, and many another. Dynbych they changed into Daneby (the Danes' town), and Ynys y Pur into Caldey (the bleak island); while their descendants to this day bear the names of Skyrme and Havard, Scall and Lort, Trigg, Buckby, and Colby.

These wiking or creek boys (for that is the literal meaning of the word) were satisfied with the substance of power. They squatted, and took what land they wanted. As for the nominal sovereignty, scions of the royal Welsh house founded by Rhodri Mawr might blind, mutilate, or murder each other to their hearts' content. That did not matter to the wiking; without, indeed, a few mercenaries were required. But the Scandinavians who settled first in France, and then annexed England, thought differently. William the Bastard's followers were as insatiable as the horseleech's daughter. Not content with the broad lands of England, some filibusters

forthwith made their way to Wales. One Martin de Turribus was the first to arrive in Pembrokeshire. He landed at Fishguard with a strong following, defeated the natives, and then married the heiress. In Martin's wake came Arnulph de Montgomery, a younger son of the great house of Belesme. He seized Pembroke and the whole southern portion of Pembrokeshire, and founded the colony known as "Little England beyond Wales." The leaders of this expedition were certainly Normans; but their following seem chiefly to have consisted of Englishmen seeking new homes in lieu of those taken from them by William's servants. The original Norse colony probably threw in their fortunes with those new comers.

The descendants of these Normans have either sunk into the condition of peasants or become extinct. Roch is the only Pembrokeshire family of position that occurs to me as bearing a Norman name. Martin is represented by a Lloyd; but Perrott, Devereux, Oriel, and Devote, are to be found only among peasants. De Bonville and Malefant are extinct. The English names are plentiful enough in all conditions.

To this colony Henry I added a small body of pure Flemings; and his grandson, anxious to get rid of a number of foreign free lances who had fought in Stephen's reign on one side or the other, despatched them into Pembrokeshire. To these were added a new batch of Flemings. These men of Flanders proved a valuable addition to the colony. They were good soldiers, builders, and weavers, and through them agriculture was greatly improved. To this day a common stone drain is called a French drain. The Welsh always called them French. The ordinary long-handled shovel, heart-shaped, of Pembrokeshire is still used in the Netherlands; and to this day you may see tall, fair, Rubenesque men and women in our market-places and streets.

TENBY AND ST. DAVID'S.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., VICAR OF ST. PAUL'S,
BERMONDSEY, SURREY.

(*Read 19th February 1884.*)

HE who hath not seen Tenby, hath not seen the Sorrento of Southern Wales. The sentence may appear dogmatic, but is truth.

We place you at Tenby, not alone for the loveliness of its scenery, or convenience as a starting point towards St. David's, but that from hence we may better follow the footsteps of Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis, who, born under the wing of Tenby, at Manorbere Castle, in after days became the historian of Wales and Ireland, the Secretary of Kings, the Archdeacon and companion of Archbishop Baldwin, in preaching Crusade, and who, it is said, sleeps in the southern aisle of the presbytery of St. David's Cathedral. We are in Little England beyond Wales; also, beyond railways—not but that a rail drags its slow length from Caermarthen to Milford, but that the district of St. David's from Haverfordwest to Fishguard is bereft of the modern convenience of transit—of celerity also. We shall need no excuse for touching on the novelties of this remarkable and little-travelled region, Little England beyond railways. It is full of historic interest, as is its coast-line of grandeur and beauty.

With the Silures, the native inhabitants of South Wales, dark skinned, not tall, but wild, intractable and brave, the last battle for British independence was fought. Tacitus tells that Ostorius, after the conquest of North Wales, marching south with like design, was met by the Silurian tribes under Caractacus, who, after a noble defence, were defeated, and their leader made prisoner. The exact spot cannot be fixed where Silurian bravery yielded to Roman captivity the noblest of British chieftains. In after days the same warlike spirit was curbed by Henry II, who built on the Marches garrisoned castles, and planted colonies of Walloon immigrants, as

at Clun, North-West Shropshire, where the lichen-covered Keep stands, and the old churchyard holds on its monuments more Walloon names than British.

At Tenby was another of these colonies which grew and flourished; but the blood of Immigrant and Native scarcely mingled—the swarthiness of the native descent is still distinct from the fairer skin and taller presence of the Fleming. Tenby became famous not only for its woollen manufacture, but for its fisheries; on its rocky promontory stood not long since a fisher's chapel, founded long ago by one who cared for its sea-toilers.

From the head of this rock spreads out a view of sea and land, unrivalled in beauty and extent by any other on British or Irish coasts. On the near left are the rocky walls of the bay, tree-fringed, and crowned by quaint houses, and the walls of the old castle. Across the bay unrolls the long panorama of Caermarthen and the Glamorgan coast, set in the dark, misty frame of mountains over Llandovery. The distant turrets of Kidwelly shine white against indigo, alternating with many a tender tint. Yonder a soft cloud, rising from some home of industry, sweeps slowly on—headland succeeds to headland, until the Rock of the Worm's Head terminates the line. These tints and shadows, hills, valleys, mountains, the nearer upland with its yellow farms, the distant, scarce recognisable town, the still and “painted ships”, the red-sailed fishers, set all in the calm of an azure sea, seen on an autumn afternoon through a shimmering golden haze; or before sunrise in early dawn, when yonder coast is indistinct, and the red rocks are shadowy, and the sea is purple; and over all stillness unbroken but by wave-lappings on the wrinkled sand, and the strangely-sounding fisher's call; and above blazes the belted planet, silvering with effulgent beams the broken lines of restless currents,—he who has thus seen Tenby, who hath drunk the inspiration of the hour, will lose never the vision of its beauty, the face of a fair rival to scenes, if more classic, not more lovely.

The church certainly deserves the investigation of both ecclesiologist and antiquary. It is not the primal church, but belongs, I believe, to the fourteenth century, spacious and very interesting. On entering, the eye

seeks the compartmental roof, enriched with quaint bosses, rising from corbels as quaint. Yet mostly is it attracted by the chancel, its elevation, its religious light from "storied panes", and the noble flight of eleven steps by which the sanctuary is reached. On the walls of the church, as beneath its roof, are many historic monuments. The altar tomb of the Whites, once merchant princes in Tenby, and benefactors also, stands to the right of the altar steps in a line with the sanctuary. The brothers lie there sculptured in the apparel and caps of their order. I exhibit one of leather, ornamented by very many silver studs of geometrical patterns, found in London. Another effigy attracts, an emaciated figure, a *memento mori*, of Tully, Bishop of St. David's.

We pass to Haverfordwest, the real starting point for St. David's, which need not long detain us. It has the air of a frontier town, the remains of Stephen's once formidable fortress—steep zigzag streets and narrow ways, and Flemish memories and churches locked and chained. Old Lambarde writes:—"These Flemynges weare not welcome to the Welshmen; but for all that they pyked out a lyvinge amongst them, and weare, as it should seme, the first that exercised the misterie of draping within that quarter." But Haverfordwest was also the starting point of Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus towards S. David's. No doubt they rested in the now ruined house of Black Canons, to the left, as the castle is to the right. Here the Archbishop preached the Crusade to flocking multitudes; the sermon, Giraldus tells us, being followed by the miracle of sight restored to a Welshwoman, through application of a particle of the sod upon which the Archbishop had stood.

It may be well to add a very condensed notice of the illustrious Archdeacon, not of St. David's, however, but of Brecon. He was born at Manorbere, as already stated, in the year 1146, of the noble family of De Barri, Lord of Manorbere, son of William de Barri and Angharad, daughter of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales. The unity, greatness, and valour of the family made it an object of jealousy with Henry II; hence, when the young Giraldus displayed an extraordinary aptitude for negotiation and

administration, the king never advanced him to ecclesiastical dignity, nor beyond the office of personal secretary in the Irish war. In 1186 he wrote his celebrated topography of Ireland, which records the Conquest, and the extraordinary exploits of his own family, and also his own sayings and doings. This book, in three parts, he afterwards read at Oxford, as he tells us, "with great applause". In the latter part of the year 1187 came the news of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin. The zeal of Western Europe, fanned by religious excitement, began preparation for the immediate recovery of the Holy City. Henry II, prudent as he was, could not avoid seeming to encourage the proposed Crusade. Archbishop Baldwin being appointed to kindle the enthusiasm of Wales, Giraldus accompanied him by command of the King. No doubt this appointment was a stroke of policy—Giraldus, the Welshman, being the acknowledged champion of the independence of the ancient British Church in Wales as against the pretensions of the metropolitanical See of Canterbury. When Richard I left England for Palestine, Giraldus became associated with the Bishop of Ely in the administration of this kingdom. Hoping for the bishopric of St. David's, and in that hope refusing Llandaff and Bangor; his hope continually frustrated by the jealousy of successive monarchs, on the vacancy of the see in 1215 the bishopric was at length offered to him,¹ after which time we hear little of him or nothing, but that the illustrious Archdeacon appears to have died about the year 1223.

The road from Haverford to St. David's is but sixteen miles ; but there are seventeen hills, some of them very long as well as steep. The present road is not altogether, though partly so, the track followed by the Archbishop : that at first inclined a little more inland, and then struck down to the coast of St. Bride's Bay. For six miles of hills the scenery is very tame, when a turn on the road will bring you on the summit of a long and very steep descent, at the foot of which are the celebrated Niewgal Sand and its long, pebbly beach. Now, far to the right,

¹ Some of the Chapters appear to have been favourable to his election ; but the choice fell on Iorwerth, a man of purely Welsh extraction.

risers purpled Ramsey Island, and sharp hills and the red cliffs of Solva edge the immense expanse of St. Bride's Bay, confining the billows of the Atlantic. To the east, over the moor, splendid and fragrant with gorse and heather, lifts the grey keep of Roche Castle, destroyed in the seventeenth century wars, but marked as another of the bridle fortresses against Welsh turbulence. A sharp descent, a long climb, and we look down on Solva, of all towns the most extraordinary, piled and built in a creek or fissure of the adamantine coast. It is enterprising, perhaps locally influential: it has its newspaper. A few dreary miles, and then St. David's, the old Menevia, and termination of the Via Julia.

Giraldus says: "We were well lodged at St. David's by Peter, Bishop of the See, a liberal man"; but remember! the guests were an Archbishop and his Archdeacon. Nevertheless, Giraldus further describes his surroundings: "*Remotissima terra, saxosa, sterilis, et infæcunda: nec silvis vestita, nec fluminibus distincta, nec pratis ornata*", etc.

This wild district, the western promontory of Britain, resembles that of France in its rich abundance of cromlechs, menhirs, and earthworks. On the ridge, north-east of St. David's Head, at Long House, are splendid remains, the capstones of the latter being 16 ft. 3 ins. by 19 ft. 9 ins., and of enormous thickness, resting on three of six uprights, 5 ft. 5 ins., the enclosed chamber being open to the north; total height with the cap being 9 ft. 3 ins. There are cairns on the hills of Ramsey, earthworks on Caerbury, and a rocking stone at Caer Llidi. Browne Willis says: "About a quarter of a mile hence is the famous shaking stone; twenty yoke of oxen cannot move, but nevertheless a child of eight years can shake it." On the road to Fishguard is a menhir, 5 ft. 6 ins. high by 4 ft. 6 ins. thick. The famous St. David's stone, the supposed landmark of Rhys ap Tudor, has disappeared. The land on which it was set up bore the name of Tir y Pireinion, or Pilgrim's Land.

Camps, called Raths, as in Ireland, are found on the shores of St. Bride's Bay and across the peninsula, near Fishguard.

Traces exist of the Via Julia, running from Aquæ

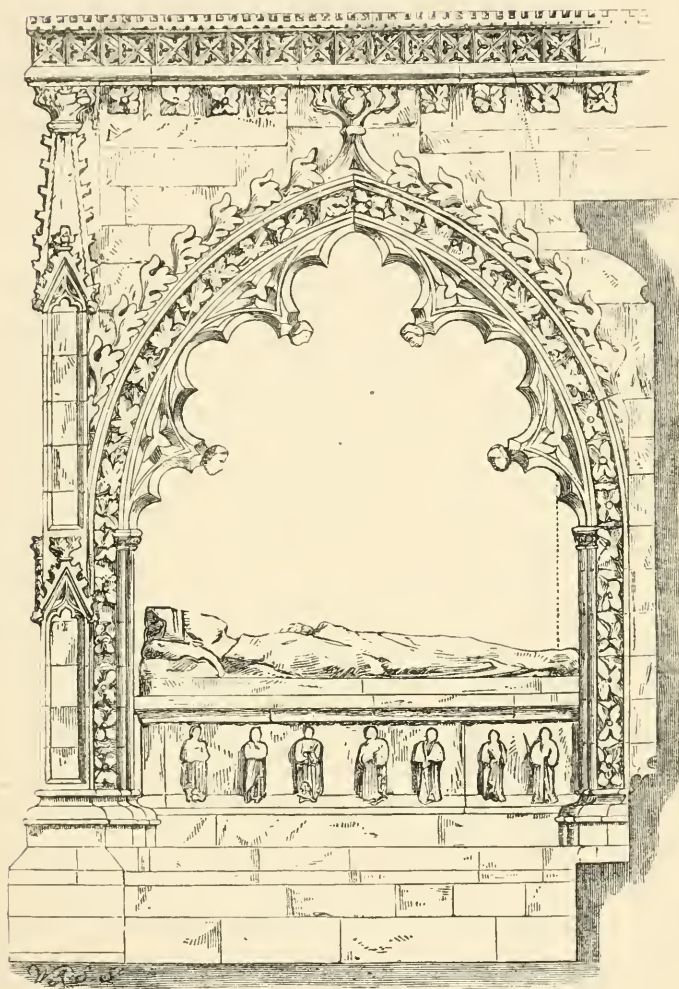
Solis to Menevia. Mr. Fenton fixed the site of the station Ad Vigesium near Haverfordwest. A branch runs also along the crest of the Presellaw Hills, connecting Loventium with Menevia.

There is also the famous dyke, Ffos y Mynech—Monk's Dyke—from the Irish Sea to St. Bride's Bay, enclosing a tract of about four miles. It has been called a road, described as a fortification, as a line of defence, and bore a name still more ancient, "King William's Way".

It was to this remote and sterile district St. David removed the Archiepiscopal See, from Caerleon on the Usk, a Roman fortress, and afterwards the seat of the Western Archbishopric, with its seven suffragans attached. Dubritius, consecrated A.D. 519, in the infirmity of age, resigned his see to St. David, afterward the patron saint of Wales. The cause of this translation was really necessity. The Saxon had conquered England, and made constant attacks on the frontiers, especially aiming at the centres of religious life, as Hexham and its St. Wilfrid: hence the necessity for maintaining the organisation of the Church by retreating to a distant and more difficult position. In Menevia this centre of the ancient British Church found for awhile the repose of security, the first church having been erected in the Valley of Roses—Giraldus says, "say rather, of marble, for there is much of one, none of the other". This church, of which no record exists, was pillaged by Danes and Norwegians, and at last destroyed by fire. The present structure, apparently standing on the original lines, was commenced by Bishop de Leia, *cir.* A.D. 1180. There is nothing in the town of St. David's to attract, save a street-cross, on its original calvary, pointing now, as of old time, the way to the embattled gateway, by which the descent of thirty-nine steps into the cathedral close is reached—the cathedral, with the ruins of a college, founded by Bishop Adam Houghton, John, Duke of Lancaster, and Blanche his wife, and the magnificent episcopal palace built by Bishop Gower, appearing on the right, on the margin of the little river Alan. The depressed site of the fabric certainly detracts from its dignity, for from the street the pinnacles of the massive, grey, central tower appear of no great elevation; but the

prolongation of the building beyond the termination of the true presbytery by Bishop Vaughan's and the Lady Chapel, excites curiosity and interest. The two chapels beyond the choir are also of later date than Bishop Leia's church. The measurements of the Cathedral, as it stands, are,—length, east to west, 290 feet; the nave, 124 feet; the choir and space beyond, 80 feet; transepts, 120 feet; breadth of nave and aisles, 76 feet; height of the roof, 46 feet; of the tower, 127 feet. I have mentioned the supposed lack of dignity resulting from a depressed site: it is forgotten in the solemn repose of the scene, the grey presence of twelve centuries.

For these rocks, this streamlet and old foundations, were objects familiar to St. David, the friend of St. Patrick, the great light and champion of the ancient British Church. Here, through this long, slow procession of years, in times of peace, in times of assault, have intercession and praise been wafted to Almighty God—the Cross, the centre and strength of its defenders and martyrs. This is sacred ground; sacred as the altar of St. Wilfrid, beneath Hexham Abbey Church, or the chapel of St. Madern on the Cornish Upland, through whose baptistery flows still the living water,—sacred as Iona's wave-echoing sanctuaries, each a centre-spring of our common Christianity, each the scene of the most precious self-sacrifice, of purest devotion. Thus we enter the awe-striking temple, built of a purple stone hewn from quarries in a rock which lines a neighbouring creek; the effect is of a building seen through dim, religious light. Its exceeding repose, its crowding associations, its empurpled twilight, the sculptured tombs surrounding, many bearing the likenesses of bishops who hence guided and ruled, and here lived and died; the dignity and beauty of its architecture, the lingering echoes of the footsteps of ages; above all, the sanctity of consecration for the worship of the scattered people of these wild hills, shut out the world, its voices and frivolities, and in trembling unity bow the heart to God, before whose altar have bended the knees of twenty-three generations. The period of the rebuilding is remarkable as that of the union of the Norman and Romanesque with the Gothic or pointed arch, the period when true artistic and religious art began to live.



TOMB OF BISHOP GOWER, AT ST. DAVID'S.





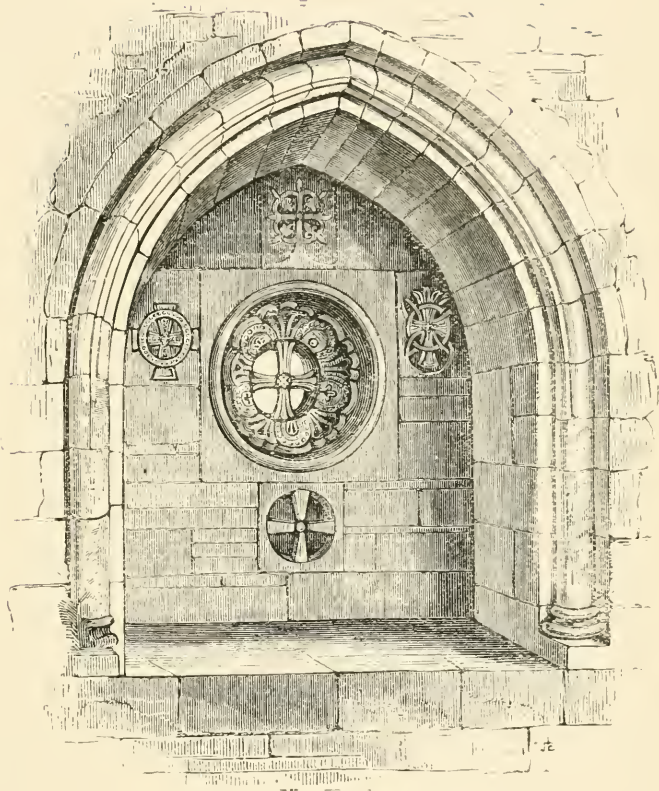
Canterbury, St. Cross, Glastonbury, are marks of this period of transition, to blossom afterwards into the loveliness of Gothic perfection of arch and moulding, of capital and tracery. The refinement, truth, and beauty of the carvings in St. David's are very remarkable, as though the sculptor, filled with artistic fire and reverential love, was set in this remote and difficult region to display a standard of excellence, a devotion of his powers to the glory of God. Standing at the west door the aisles are seen separated from the nave by five groups of Norman columns bearing incised capitals; the groups alternately round and octagonal, having quadrilateral shafts, true to the cardinal points, attached. The arches are of very great width, but the massiveness precludes any sense of lightness. From this great bulk and attached columns, Sir Gilbert Scott supposed an original intention of stone-vaulting both nave and aisles. This design, however, was never carried out. Above the arch of the nave are double, round-headed, and decidedly Romanesque windows, deeply recessed, and surrounded by late and exquisitely designed Norman mouldings; mouldings of the same character surround other of the cathedral windows. I have said the plan for stone vaulting was never carried out. The original roof was replaced about the beginning of the fifteenth century by a flat roof of oak, richly adorned with pendants and panels. The windows of both aisles and transepts also suffered change. Bishop Gower, in the fourteenth century, endeavouring to assimilate the varied styles in his cathedral, introduced decorated designs. Sir G. Scott found most of these windows a wreck, but rebuilt them on the original lines.

The eye, now travelling along the somewhat rising pavement eastward, is arrested by the first screen or rood-loft, of stone, massive, and approached from the nave by four steps. Beneath its canopy, with other prelates, sleeps Gower, that "reveller in masonic art". Above, and far beyond, shine through the purple gloom, high in the eastern wall, the four Early English lancets,¹

¹ "The four lancets seem to be later than Bishop de Leia's time, but before Gower's. The present ceiling being Tudor is later than Gower." (Mem. by Dean Allen.)

supplanted by a Perpendicular window-head, but discovered and reinserted by Sir G. Scott. The mouldings and other stone work, as at St. Alban's, had been built up in walls of the Tudor period, when a low roof was substituted for the high pitched one, the trace of which remains on the eastern wall of the central tower. Through the round-headed gateway of the screen, and before the altar, within the second screen, is seen in shadow the tomb of the Earl of Richmond, Edmund Tudor, father of Henry VII, and above its level sparkle mosaics filling the three great eastern lancets, originally open, but now blocked by Bishop Vaughan's Chapel. Passing the Decorated screen, the recipient of so many changes of artistic idea, the choir, with its restored wood carvings, is seen as an almost square, little more than the area of the lantern of the tower above. Four open bays on either hand run up to the eastern wall, spanning on the right ancient episcopal tombs; on the left, the substructure of St. David's shrine. Immediately before us is the Tudor tomb, with its inscription, "Under this marble stone here enclosed, resteth the bones of that noble Lord, Edmond, Earl of Richmond, father and brother of kings, etc."; and beyond, the altar with surmounting mosaics.

In the course of restoration, an exceedingly curious discovery was made in the eastern end of the church, where a walled window below the cill of the central lancet, in Bishop Vaughan's Chapel, became visible. On opening it, a deep recess was found into the thickness of the walls, at the back of which are ornamental crosses of an earlier period; the interval between the arms being pierced through into the interior, opening just behind the high altar, as if to allow a person, kneeling in the recess, to participate in the service going on at the high altar within. Scarcely possible is it to realise the state of neglect, dilapidation, and ruin into which the building generally had been suffered to lapse—aisles, with their precious relics, roofless; chapels distorted and degraded; boards painted uniform brown, with black-painted arches; dirt; high pews; here and there the head of a bodiless cherub; and the central tower fissured and twisted, with intervals so large "that a cat could pass through them"; with walls, as at Chichester, filled with rubble, which on



RECESS AND CROSSES AT EAST END OF ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.



one occasion during the restoration "ran out in a stream", exciting greatest alarm, and requiring the quickest promptitude and nerve to prevent collapse—these beautiful south-eastern bays of the presbytery were walled up; the aisles beyond stood roofless, and the range of episcopal monuments left exposed to destruction; amongst them, and nearest the angle of the eastern with southern wall under a low arch, the supposed tomb and effigy of Giraldus Cambrensis. It is difficult, for records are sparse, to recall the glory of those days, when the shrine of St. David's was one of world-wide reputation. Hither came William I, Henry II, Edward I, and his Queen. Giraldus, however, writes only of the high altar; nothing of the shrine. Drawing a comparison between Canterbury and St. David's, he says: "On one side you will see royal favour, affluence of riches, numerous and opulent suffragan bishops, and abundance of learned men. On the other side a deficiency of all these things, and a total want of justice." These may be the words of a man with a grievance, but one might suppose some notice of the shrine would have found place, had it then been the magnet for pilgrims and their rich offerings. That kings had knelt there goes for little, inasmuch as the coast was the embarkation point for Ireland. "I will summon hither all the ships in my realm, and make them a bridge to attack that country", said William II. "Did the King", inquired Murchard, Prince of Leinster, "did the King add to this mighty threat, if God please?"

Stripped of glory, riches, and decoration, the whole remains of the celebrated shrine are found in a wall between two pillars of the presbytery, the third bay from the eastern end of the church, with two square-headed recesses, three quatrefoils, and below three other round or obtuse-headed recesses, by tradition, or probably, depositaries for sacred relics. The front, towards the choir, was of Transition date, and had, resting on three round-headed arches, a table; with above, four quatrefoils chamfered inwards; the two outer quatrefoils are blocked; the inner two have apertures just large enough to admit a hand, and communicate with little lockers within, of course for offerings; above, are a triplet of arches backed by ashlar, resting on cylindrical shafts

(recently restored), the original bases and caps remaining *in situ*. These arches contained images of frescoes, St. Patrick, St. David, St. Denis, or Caradoc, surmounted, as also the rood-screen, by a wooden canopy or parapet. The remains of St. David were first laid in the same grave with his Confessor, St. Justinian, but translated and placed in a portable shrine. This on one occasion was stolen and plundered, but recovered. William of Malmsbury asserts the relics came into possession of the relic-loving monks of Glastonbury, but it was not so. The relics were here in 1173, and so also was Henry II. A century later, and the more magnificent shrine was built by Bishop Carew. The portable shrine, however, contained still the relics of St. David, since, by an extent of bishop's lands (1326), the burgesses of St. David were required to follow (when the bishop went forth to war) with the shrine, one day's journey; and Bishop Nicholls requested the chantry priests to carry the shrine in procession. So, on the table or *feretrum* (used for a standing shrine, as St. Cuthbert's, Durham), probably the portable shrine of St. David was placed. In the north transept is an object very similar, enclosed by woodwork, corresponding with the stalls, a stone table, with two quatrefoils chamfered inwardly, with a round arch above, in which are two round holes set in squares, possibly a shrine of St. Andrew. Time passes quickly—I may tire you.

We can hardly leave without observation the tombs surrounding us. In the nave, between the second and third piers from the east lies an effigy of Bishop Morgan, 1504, in eucharistic vestments; the head supported on a pillow by two angels; at his feet a group of the resurrection, copied (in treatment) from a thirteenth century sculpture. Another such is in Ripon Cathedral vestry, and was found during repairs beneath the Dean's stall; the effigy of a priest with a dog at his feet; on two slabs, a cross fleury; before the steps of the daïs, or floor of rood-loft, lie the prebendaries of St. David's, William Wilcock, 1502, and Richard Rhayader, 1523. In a decorated chamber, within the southern limit of the rood-loft, Bishop Gower, the great builder and benefactor of the church, lies, sculptured in eucharistic vestments, the mitre on his head, the pastoral staff beside him. and

the arm raised in benediction. Angels support the head, a lion couches at the feet; below, on the south slab, are eight Apostles; above are, in elegant profusion, the deep waved lines, the vine leaves, the four-petalled flower and mullets characteristic of the bishop's taste and time.

Bishop Vaughan lies under the fan vaulting and before the altar of his own chapel,—“Bishop Vaughan lies buried here.” It may be sufficient to note that Bishop Vaughan's Chapel is intact; but the Lady Chapel beyond is roofless and dilapidated. The springer of its vaulted ceiling alone remains. A cross aisle, serving as an ante-chapel to the Lady Chapel, is entered, both north and south, by a couple of beautiful Early English arches. The ruinous state of the tower compelled the rebuilding of western piers; this could not be effected without the removal of several episcopal tombs. The removal and restoration from and to their place was in all cases carefully carried out; the sacred dust within touched and preserved with reverent hands. But many interesting relics being removed, they are preserved in a case within the north transept. 1. A silvered latten chalice, 1280, Bishop de Carew. 2. A silvered latten chalice, 1293, Bishop Beck. 3. An engraved paten, Bishop Beck. 4. Head of pastoral staff, Bishop Carew, 1280. A raven proper appears the central ornament of this pastoral staff. It would be interesting to determine if Carew be a territorial name or North Irish; if the former, did an alliance by marriage exist with the renowned family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who bore on his shield a chevron between three ravens proper? 5. Staff of Bishop Gervase, 1229. 6. Staff of Thomas Beck, 1293. 7. Head of the staff of Bishop Gower, 1347; altogether remarkable, of gilt metal, here and there tinged by green oxide of copper; the end of the ornamental curve appears to have become disorganised by the damps of the grave; the shaft is ornamented on either side by nine flanges, which spring from a hemisphere, intended by a screw to be joined within another and the main shaft of the staff. Bishop Gower was a genius, and the staff may be an original conception. 8. A pectoral crucifix of silver; crest of the bishop, a dog passant; if not so, then a *hart*. 9. A figure of St. John, holding in the left hand a clasped

book (Gospel), the right being raised in attitude of speaking. The figure is on a round expanded plinth, rising from an ornamented and curved arm with foliated branches, intended probably for an altar socket.¹ The metal of the staves, together with the enriched bands of the staves, is chiefly copper gilded. The staff of Bishop Gower is peculiar in its simplicity. The earliest, 1229, is floriated with leafage, oak leaves, and acorns; the centre of Bishop Carew's, a raven with expanded wings; a third, Bishop Beck, an elegant interweaving of leaves, stems, and pines; the bands of the staff bearing apparently the badge of Edward IV. The carvings on the misereres in the choir are singularly interesting, as testifying to the rancour between the regular and secular clergy. The reverend brethren are represented as suffering in various forms the effects of good feeding. The cowed fox occurs more than once—"Cucullus non facit monachum." A fox thus cowed is seated, offering to a goose with a human head, a small round thing—a wafer, perhaps. There is a flagon partly hid behind the fox; your memories will supply similar instances from other cathedrals. Here, however, the antagonism has crept on to the elbows of the stalls, ornamented by a jester's cap, or monk's cowl. The bishop's throne was built by Bishop Morgan, and is a striking object, but would scarcely bear investigation, having suffered frequent alterations and additions, with Decorative and Perpendicular architecture piled together, until Sir Gilbert Scott, however, remodelled and restored the canopy. It contains three seats, one on either side of the bishop for superior officers, as chancellor and archdeacon. Another very remarkable feature of this part of the Cathedral is the second screen; the first being, in the original, the work of Bishop Leia, and covering the resting-places of Gower, Beck, and other prelates; this second, of wood, extends across the choir from the piers west of the altar, dividing the presbytery from the choir proper; it is of fourteenth century work, and supplants an older structure. Such screens are rare; one existed in Malmesbury Abbey, others are noted as having existed, but this remains.

The lower portion is solid, with wide central doorway;

¹ The Very Rev. Dean Allen informs me that it is "probably a portion of a processional cross."

the upper ornamented with Pointed arches, one or two retaining reticulated tracery. The bells were formerly rung from the choir; there were but three, and one of these cracked. The very ancient choir clock was there in Elizabethan days, and had been again and again noted for its notes of agony and sounds of pain, when in act of striking—a perpetual penitent with everlasting moan. Of the bells, one said “it puzzles whether they sound for joy or sorrow”. Of the clock there is this entry, “1565; two shillings to Richard Smythe for moving ye clocke, and bringing ye same to his place.” Treasurer Clavering, 1705, writes “it is in good order”. He, however, may not have been musical. You are aware of the high value of heraldic achievements in sometimes determining the chronology of a building, and the connection of landed families and benefactors with it. Indeed, St. David's, like St. Alban's, is very rich in heraldic lore. I select a few from the many. The eastern chapels, presbytery, and nave, have all their lettered panels. In Bishop Vaughan's Chapel appear the arms of Bishop Vaughan and of Henry VII. His father's tomb, you remember, is not far off. In the ante-chapel to the Lady Chapel are the arms of Archbishop Chichele, Bishop Vaughan, and Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G. The hart *argent*, of Edward IV; the boar, of Richard III; the dragon *gules*, of Henry VII; the great families of Beauchamp, Howard, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, Earls of Pembroke, Earls of Powys, the ancient arms of Scotland, connected with the Huntingdon family, and others. To sum up, Bishop de Leia built in 1180 on the old foundation, not, however, fulfilling the present lines of the church. The tower was lower, insecurely built, and fell eastward, in the thirteenth century, 1220. The transepts were probably rebuilt at this time; the Lady and Bishop Vaughan's Chapels were later additions. The western piers of the present tower are of De Leia's work, and the western wall and the eastern have been rebuilt; so that in the fall the tower must have been rent from top to bottom, and for economy the standing portion was utilised; little doubt but the reparation extended the work of the church eastward. About 1248 the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the northern transept became added, and above it, still later, the chapter-house. About 1300 the

Lady Chapel was erected by Bishop Martin, and the fifteenth century roof, massive, flat, panelled, and exquisite in detail, placed on the nave. The finely enriched roof has been as finely restored. The times of Bishop Gower, 1328 to 1347,¹ the greatest and most magnificent builder, the Wolsey of St. David's, followed. The church underwent a general remodelling; the tower was raised; the magnificent and adjoining palace built, and possibly that of Lamphey, near Pembroke, also, and De Leia's rood-screen reconstructed, and no doubt the windows of the aisles remodelled, with those of the south transept. The church then had reached the pinnacle of its glory; like other mortal things, each year became a step downwards to dissolution, until about 1850-60 the state of tower, roofs, and walls was such as to excite wonder a westerly hurricane had not overthrown them. The restoration, nay, the preservation of the cathedral, is due to the genius of Sir Gilbert Scott, his work having been continued with loving solicitude and most satisfactory success by the present Dean. Certainly the name of Dean Allen will find place with the memories of the worthies of the Cathedral. Dugdale says: "It hath yielded the Church three Saints, to the realm of England three Lord Chancellors, one Lord Privy Seal; to Oxford one Lord Chancellor; and one name to the roll of martyrs, Robert Farrer." John Thoresby, Chancellor; Chichele, Archbishop; John Ketterick, Bishop; William Lindwood, Privy Seal; Milbourn, Bishop; William Laud, Archbishop; Thomas Watson, Bishop; George Bull, Bishop. To these I may add a name illustrious, learned, noble, the late Dr. Connop Thirlwall.

There is much, very much, of interest left unwritten. I trust this unfilled sketch of one of our most ancient cathedrals may not prove uninteresting or uninteresting.

In Dugdale's ground-plan of the cathedral, a line exterior to the choir, north, and really within St. Thomas' Chapel, is marked "Penitentiary", the place for penitents; but in a modern is marked St. Caradoc's shrine.

The foregoing paper is not altogether derived from printed sources, although help has been found in Dugdale, Sir G. Scott's report of 1868, and Freeman's work on the *Antiquities of St. David's*.

¹ Gower did not follow, but precede, Tudor times.

RECENTLY DISCOVERED REMAINS OF A ROMAN BRIDGE IN THE RIVER TRENT.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read 1st Nov. 1882.)

THE recent discovery of the remains of a Roman bridge in the river Trent, which have been brought to light during the operations in connection with the improvements of the Trent navigation, an account of which was given in *The Standard* newspaper of the 28th October last, is of special value, not only on account of its intrinsic merit as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the many works of the Romans in this country, but as affording materials for discussing the accuracy of the generally received site of the station, Ad Pontem, on the Roman Foss-way which forms part of the sixth *iter* of Antoninus. The following is the description given by *The Standard* of this discovery.

“In the course of carrying out large dredging and other works for the improvement of the Trent navigation, which connects Hull, Grimsby, and Goole by water with Birmingham and the Midland Canal system, a most interesting discovery has been made. The works in progress between the villages of Collingham and Cromwell, north of Newark, include a large amount of dredging, and it was during this operation that the workmen came across the pier of an old wooden bridge. About 40 feet or so closer to the north bank another, of similar appearance, was found; and it is presumed there are six or seven of these piers, forming the whole bridge. Mr. Rolfe, C.E., the engineer in chief, had the two piers which obstructed the navigable channel blown up with dynamite. In three hours, eight charges of dynamite, judiciously disposed, completely wrecked the remains of a work which has withstood the action of weather and water for sixteen centuries, and over which many a hard-contested struggle has taken place, as is shown by the numerous human skulls and bones which have been dredged up. A portion

of the wood and stonework was afterwards recovered, and excavations are to be made with a view to finding and preserving another of the remaining piers.

“From observations made previously to the blasting, it appeared that the foundations were formed of wood set in ancaster or a somewhat similar stone; the oak walings and balks were black and hard, but mostly in good condition; the mortar was still quite hard and adhesive; the walings were tied across, through a large centre balk, by tie-pieces of wood, having octagonal heads through which wedges had evidently been driven to keep the structure together. There is room for doubt whether any similar structure of wood now remains in such complete preservation, although in Rome itself some traces of a wooden bridge, supposed to be either the Pons Æmilius or the Pons Sublicius, have been seen in the Tiber; but they do not appear to have been distinctly recognisable. The bridge now traced can only be fixed upon as adjacent to the station Ad Pontem, by the supposition that Crocolana and Ad Pontem have been accidentally transposed in the *iter* of Antoninus. The bridge was probably a connecting link between the district of Lindum and Crocolana and the station Ultra Trehentam (Ad Pontem or some other), on the way northward.”

This statement was followed, in subsequent issues of *The Standard*, by letters from several correspondents, two of which only it will be necessary to refer to here. Mr. Edwin Sloper writes from Taunton on the 28th of October as follows:—

“The interesting account you have given in your issue of to-day, of the discovery of the piers of a Roman bridge on the Trent, between Collingham and Cromwell, will not necessitate any transposition of the adjacent stations of the *Antonine Itinerary*. The sixth *iter* (from London to Lincoln) mentions Ad Pontem between Margiduno and Crococalano, the latter being the next station to Lincoln; but the eighth *iter*, which gives the road from London to York, through Lincoln, omits Ad Pontem. It seems that after leaving Margiduno, probably near Car (Celtic *caer*, a castle) Colston, the fosse-road divided,—one branch proceeded direct to Lincoln through Crococalano, without bridging the river Trent; the other crossed that river

before reaching Newark, and was probably joined by a road from the west, which found its way over the Trent by the bridge, of which the piers have now been discovered, to Crococalano and Lincoln."

And on the 1st of November, E. G. Wake, M.D. (the author of *Collingham and its Neighbourhood*), writing from Lewisham House, Dartmouth Park Hill, says:—

"The bridge lately discovered in the bed of the Trent was seen in the year 1792, when the river was unusually low. Dickenson, the historian of Notts., records this fact. The same author places Ad Pontem, the station next to Crocolana, in the *iter* from Lincoln to Leicester, at Southwell. If this localisation be correct, a bridge across the Trent would be necessary somewhere near the spot where these Roman remains survive."

An examination of the various authorities on the *Antonine Itinerary* forbids me from accepting either of these hypotheses; and it also shows that there is, perhaps, no station, an endeavour to fix the locality of which has given rise to so much conjecture. The measurements and localities of the roads and stations in the sixth *iter* of Antoninus have in some cases borne the test of investigation; though in others, Mr. Thomas Wright's remarks, "that the Roman towns between Ratæ and Lindum have been less, almost than any others, examined by modern antiquaries, and their sites are only fixed by conjecture,"¹ still holds true.

It is only natural that there should be more doubt as to the locality of a station described as "Ad Pontem" than of some Roman town or city of Roman Britain, such as Eboracum, Lindum, or Aquæ Solis, which have retained such irrefragable proofs of their ancient splendour as to identify their sites with those of the modern cities of York, Lincoln, and Bath, which have arisen from their ruins. But it does not seem in any way necessary, but rather the reverse, to assume, as many writers have done, that a station described as "Ad Pontem" must be identified with some important Roman town. On the contrary, it would seem that if that were so, the station would be named from the town, if the road passed through it, or if

¹ *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 2nd ed., p. 126.

near to it, or to some important locality in the neighbourhood, it would have the preposition "Ad", as in the case of "Ad Abum" (Winterton), to or near to¹ the Humber. So in the present instance, the nearest or most convenient route to the bridge from the main road would be named "Ad Pontem", though it might, and most probably would, be only a station for the protection of the bridge. The inquiry, therefore, should in the first instance be for the bridge, and then for a station connecting the bridge with the main road.

The sixth *iter* of Antoninus, which includes the station Ad Pontem, is described as "A Lindinio Lindo" (from London to Lincoln). The Watling Street is its basis until it is crossed by the Foss at Venonis (Claybrook in Leicestershire), and from thence it is continued by the Foss to Lincoln.

The following is the description given by the Rev. Thos. Reynolds in his treatise on the *Antonine Itinerary*, published in 1799, so far as it relates to the towns within the scope of our present inquiry :

		Corrected		Autho.			E. M.
	M.P.	No.					
Margiduno ...	XIII	XII	Iter VIII	East Bridgeford	...	12	
Ad Pontem ...	VII			Farndon	...	7	
Crocolana ...	VII			Brough by Collingham		7	
Lindo ...	XII			Lincoln	...	12	

Mr. Thos. Wright agrees with this description in his *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, with the exceptions that he omits the corrected distance of Margiduno, and omits the distances in English miles. Mr. Wright says, "We gain not much in knowing the exact measure of the Roman mile, because we cannot place trust in the numbers given in the Itineraries."²

Mr. Reynolds, after fully investigating this subject, concludes that the Roman and English miles are identical in length,—an opinion which is not borne out by the information we have from classical sources of Roman measurement, but agrees with the distances shown by the last Ordnance Survey, taking the scale of an inch to

¹ "Ad", as applied to a place, sometimes means *near to* in classical Latin : "Ad urbem concionem habuit". (Cic., *Verr.*, Act i, 15, etc.)

² P. 186, 2nd ed.

the mile, which I have carefully measured for the present investigation; owing, no doubt, to the fact that the measurements in the *Antonine Itinerary* take no notice of the fractions of a mile. The distance from Lincoln to East Bridgeford, following the line of the fossway, is twenty-five miles, as against twenty-six in the *Itinerary*, the extra mile being in the distance between Crococalano and Ad Pontem, which is seven miles in the *Itinerary*, whilst the Ordnance Map gives only six from Brough to Farndon; the distance from Lincoln to Brough being exactly twelve miles, and from Farndon to the point in the foss-road where a road branches to the village of East Bridgeford, seven miles; and three-quarters of a mile further the Foss meets a road called in the Ordnance Map "Bridgeford Street", which runs straight in a north-westerly direction, meeting, at a place called "Burrow Field" (which Camden names as the site of Margidunum, and says that many Roman bricks and coins, among which is a Vespasian, have been found there), the road last mentioned, close to the Trent, which is there crossed by a ferry. The Ordnance Map indicates a Roman station at the junction of Bridgeford Street with the Foss; and in the map of Nottinghamshire in Carey's county Atlas, which Reynolds has adopted as a valuable reference in consequence of its correctness and its special reference to the Roman roads, there is a road shown from Bridgeford Street, through the village of East Bridgeford, running in a north-eastern direction for about five miles, to East Stoke, where it joins the Foss called "The Upper Foss-way." This road can be traced on the Ordnance Map, though it is not named. If it be a Roman road, its distinctive features may have disappeared since Carey's maps were drawn, the first edition of which was published in the year 1787.

These circumstances, combined with the discovery of important Roman remains, which are described by Stukeley,¹ all point to the identification of the neighbourhood of East Bridgeford as the Margidunum of the *Antonine Itinerary*, and as a datum from which to ascertain the locality of the next station northwards on the Foss, Ad Pontem.

¹ *Iter Corr.*, p. 100.

Horsley¹ supposes Farndon to be the site of this station. "When at Newark he took a view of this place, and did not think the appearance unpromising"; "but", says Reynolds, "he adds no other proof besides the distance." Reynolds, quoting this passage from Horsley, adds, "It is by no means improbable that the Romans had a bridge over the Trent near this village. It appears by the map that a road now crosses the Trent at this place." The Ordnance Map shows that the river is now crossed by a ferry.

In the additions by John Thorsley to Thoroton's *History of Nottinghamshire*,² after adducing reasons for fixing on East Bridgeford as the site of Margidunum, he adds: "But Ad Pontem, which Mr. Rastell, in his *History of Southwell*, has taken much pains to fix there, is not, I think, so easily discovered. Some have placed Ad Pontem at Newark; but Newark was built after the Romans governed this country."

He then gives the observations of a gentleman of high respectability, who had honoured him with his remarks in passing over the Foss, so far as respects Ad Pontem. "Supposing", says this gentleman, "Crocolana to be Brough, the next station is Ad Pontem, seven miles, and passing through Newark to Thorpe Bar is a situation like one. The Trent comes close to the road, which makes a bend (one of the marks of a station) to that point. The distance answers exactly; and directly opposite, on the other side of the river, four miles off, lies Southwell, where Roman antiquities have been found. This place was called by the Saxons Tiovulfingacaster. The termination here used was given almost exclusively to Roman cities. At Southwell, then, might be the Roman town, a bridge near the Trent connected it with the Foss, and (Newark not then existing) it was a great pass into Nottinghamshire. At the southern end of the bridge, on the high bank of the river, was perhaps a small station or fort to protect it, which would be called the Statio ad Pontem, as the Statio ad Ansam, ad Trivonam, and others in the Itineraries. And perhaps this idea will reconcile the jarring numbers of Antonine and Richard; one of them

¹ *Essay, Itin.*, Ad Pontem.

² Vol. i, p. 71, ed. 1797.

stopping at the bridge, and therefore calling it seven miles from Crocolana; the other crossed to the city, and thence put it down twelve. When the Castle at Newark was built, in King Stephen's time, both Crocolana and Ad Pontem would be robbed of their materials, both lying so near, and so convenient for water-carriage, which will account for there being no remains distinguishable at either of them."

Again, in his account of Southwell, Thorsley says:—"Mr. Rustall, who has contended to prove that Southwell was the Ad Pontem of the Romans, in his history of this place, has lately informed me that the foundation of the Roman bridge, which has so long been the desideratum of antiquaries for the purpose of fixing the station Ad Pontem, has been lately discovered in the Trent, near to Winthorp, a little way from Newark; from which this ingenious gentleman supposes he has traced the direction of the Roman road to Southwell, and almost (to use his own words) irrefragably confirmed his former supposition, that here was the famous station, Ad Pontem."¹ And in his description of Newark, Thorsley says: "That town, supposed by some to be the Roman Ad Pontem, lies on the Foss from Lincoln. Some of the learned have in vain struggled to fix Ad Pontem at Newark, and others at Southwell. Arguments, it must be allowed, are more in favour of the latter than the former, although Southwell lies at more than the distance of three miles from the Trent. At Southwell, Roman coins and Roman pottery have been found; but at Newark, which was built so late as the reign of King Stephen, no such tokens of age and consequence have been found.

"The road from Newark to Thorp Bar, at the distance of about four miles, is spacious, on a level country, passing through the lordships of Farndon to Thorpe Lane End. Nearly opposite to Thorpe Bar you are in view of Southwell Minster, on the right, over the Trent. Here, we are told, was formerly a bridge over the Trent to Southwell (but now not a vestige of it remains), near which stood, it is imagined, a small station as a protection to the passage. At Stoke, a little further on the road (perhaps half a mile), there is every appearance of

¹ Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, vol. iii, p. 87.

the site of a large ancient building, which might easily command the bridge. It is on a bold eminence near the church, and overlooks the Trent. It is now called 'The Hall Close.' Neither Newark nor Southwell answers, with respect to distance, so well as this place for Ad Pontem. The place where the bridge stood, over the Trent to Southwell, answers nearly. The eminence at Stoke, and the place where the bridge stood, have an easy communication."¹

In summing up this conflicting testimony there seems to be no difficulty in fixing the site of the station Ad Pontem, assuming that there was a bridge over the Trent between Thorpe Lane End and Southwell. Discarding the suggestions regarding Newark and Southwell,—as to the former, because it did not exist, or was not of sufficient importance in Roman times; and as to the latter, for the reasons before given, which are confirmed by the extract from Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*,—our attention is fixed on Stoke, the locality mentioned by Thorsley (or, as it is now called, East Stoke), a village on the foss-road, a mile and a half south of Farndon, and three furlongs from Thorpe Bar. Its distance from Brough (Crocolana) is seven miles and a half; and to the junction of Bridgeford Street with the foss-way (the site of Margidunum), six miles and a half. The fourteen miles from Crocolana and Margidunum, given in the *Itinerary*, is, therefore, accounted for within a quarter of a mile; and the description of this village given by Thorsley points to its eligibility as the site of a Roman station. The short distance between it and Farndon may have led to the latter place being named as the site of the station, as the bridge referred to is said to have crossed the Trent somewhere between the two villages. The road from Farndon westwards crosses the Trent by a ferry, which may point to the supposed site of the bridge, though the description given of Stoke points more correctly to its being the exact site of the station, Ad Pontem.

Mr. Rastall's information of the discovery of the foundations of a Roman bridge near Winthrop may not be of any value in support of his theory that Southwell is the site of Ad Pontem, but it raises the question whether they

¹ Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, vol. i, pp. 147-8.

are not identical with those recently discovered. Winthrop is not more than three miles in a direct line from that part of the river where the recent discovery was made, and about the same distance from Cromwell and South Collingham. This distance may have been near enough for Mr. Rastall, who does not seem to have inspected the foundations of the bridge he mentions. If this be so, and there was only one bridge over the Trent, it throws out of calculation the theory that Farndon or East Stoke can be the station *Ad Pontem*, and gives colour to Dr. Wake's suggestion that the bridge recently discovered was that seen in 1792; and "that, assuming that Southwell was the station *Ad Pontem*, a bridge across the Trent would be necessary somewhere near the spot where these Roman remains survive." But if so, the Roman road must have left the direction of the foss-way, and have passed through Collingham, over the bridge, to the west side of the Trent, to Southwell, and so have lost its identity with the foss; and if it rejoined that road, it could only do so by again crossing the Trent. Was there, then, another bridge over the Trent, near Farndon or East Stoke, as suggested by Horsley, or at Winthrop by Rastall? And if so, which was the bridge pointed out by the station *Ad Pontem*?

The suggestion that the stations *Crocolana* and *Ad Pontem* have been accidentally transposed in the *iter* of Antoninus, made in the account of the recent discovery in *The Standard* newspaper, is an easy way out of the difficulty, but can scarcely be received without more information concerning the locality than has yet come to light, though the distance from Brough (the accepted site of *Crocolana*) being not more than three miles from the newly discovered bridge, is favourable to the hypothesis. The absence of any roads or towns on the western bank of the Trent, in Nottingham, with the exception of Southwell and Mansfield Woodham, leaves a blank which can only be supplied by conjecture, in tracing any communication with the bridge on that side of the river, which does not exist in the localities which have been investigated south of Newark.

But neither can we accept Mr. Sloper's description. He seems to have some knowledge of the upper foss-way,

which branched from the foss at Margidunum; but he traces it as "crossing the Trent before reaching Newark", and was probably, he says, "joined by a road from the west", which found its way over the Trent by the bridge of which the piers have now been discovered, to Crocolana and Lincoln."

This suggestion must have been made without a proper investigation of maps. As I have before shown, the upper foss-way did not cross the Trent, but followed in a curvilinear direction the main foss-road until it joined at East Stoke. If Mr. Sloper's theory is correct, some trace of a Roman way from Brough, through South Collingham, to the Trent, ought to be traced, as well as indications of it on the west bank of the Trent. Such theories as these, unsupported by facts, are misleading. What is wanting is a more complete investigation of the west bank of the Trent, and exact statements of measurements and distances. Nothing is more disheartening than the attempt to reconcile the generalities and conjectures of antiquarian writers of the end of the last and commencement of this century with the greater exactness now demanded of those who attempt similar investigations,—a flagrant instance of which is shown in Camden's *Britain*, where, in the early editions, he places the station *Ad Pontem*, which is on the foss-way, or nowhere, at Pauntun, a mile or two below Grantham, on the river Witham and the Ermine Street.

The last Ordnance survey, and the discoveries which are being constantly brought to light, give us an immense advantage over our predecessors. What is wanted is an exhaustive examination of the materials at our command, and an honest admission of failure to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion when facts do not warrant it. In this spirit I submit the result of my researches on this interesting subject; not asking you to solve the problem which has been propounded, but to accept the materials I have collected, in the hope that they may lead, with the aid of subsequent discoveries and investigations, to a satisfactory solution.

HISTORICAL AND OTHER EVIDENCES OF THE EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read at the Tenby Congress.)

THE ancient histories, both of Wales and Britain, speak of the existence of Christianity in very early times as a fact which is not questioned. They go, too, so far as to convey the impression to us that Christianity was widespread, and all but, if not quite, universal. Were we able to place implicit reliance on these ancient records, the present paper would be objectless, since it would be but an endeavour to prove that which was apparent to all. Early, and much of mediæval, history, however, bears on the face of it so many palpable inaccuracies, and fable is so gravely set forth as fact, that there is nothing surprising in the disbelief with which much of it is received, since the tendency of the human mind is to believe in the opposite of that which is detected to be an untrue statement.

A passing reference to the wonderful history of Geoffrey of Monmouth is sufficient to show the extent in which fiction, anachronisms, and gross improbabilities are mixed up in what was once considered reliable history. Many others, with less of the leaven of improbability, have still many statements open to easy question. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the result of history written thus is the disbelief, or nearly so, of many in the existence of any great number of Christians in Roman and early times.

Not one of the least pleasant works of the antiquary is to collect evidences of history, to weigh and to arrange them, and to see how far they support the written records, how the latter should be modified by them, or how even they may be proved to be inaccurate. The existence of Christianity in Roman times can be proved by

the existence of antiquities of many kinds, some of which it will be necessary to refer to. There is a sufficient number for this purpose, and from these I have selected the following as being undoubtedly of Roman date, and as relating to Christianity, and not to Mythraic or Gnostic rites.

At Frampton, Dorset, a Roman villa was excavated many years ago, and some very good tessellated pavements were found. The *chi-rho*, that earliest and most beautiful symbol of Our Lord's name, is worked in mosaics, in a position of honour, in one of them. On another is a mild and beneficent face, probably intended to be a portrait of Our Lord.

In the Alnwick Castle collection is a vase of the well known Roman Caistor ware. It has the *chi-rho* on it in white slip. This emblem occurs also on a silver vase found at Corbridge, Northumberland, and on a leaden plate found at Battersea. It also appears on a leaden *bullæ*, or seal, found in the Roman city of Silchester, in a room off the Forum, during the recent excavations made by the late Duke of Wellington.

At Hartlip, Kent, a Roman sarcophagus was found several years ago. Two palm-branches are carved upon it, being, as Mr. Roach Smith believes, evidence of a Christian interment, since he has found no such emblem relating to any burial of heathen origin.

The Roman villa at Chedworth, Gloucester, has a small enclosed fountain very well adapted for a baptistery; while on the steps of another part of the villa, the figure of the cross is cut in two places.

For the sake of brevity I have excluded from this list all on which any reasonable doubt can be expressed. I make only passing reference to a great number of ancient cemeteries with the interments lying east and west, there being no pagan accompaniments, for a similar reason, except to say that there is such a cemetery beneath Bishopsgate Street, London, on the Roman level, the interments lying close together. It is very difficult to assign this to any other age than to the earliest period after the Roman rule of extra-mural sepulture had lost its power, or to ascribe it to other than Christian date.

The Rev. Dr. Hooppell found, some months since, at Bin-

chester, Durham, a Roman stone figure of a divinity. It was mutilated, and when met with in the remains of the Roman station referred to, it was doing duty as old material, having been used as part of the foundation of some doorsteps, having evidently lost all sacred character.

The entire list shows the occurrence of objects spread pretty generally over the whole of England. The varying nature of these discoveries is sufficient to show very wide-spread use ; but there are still others. Two silver bracelets were found not long since at Fifehead Neville, Dorset. Their Roman date is shown by their workmanship and the place and surroundings where they were discovered ; but their Christian origin is shown by their ornamentation. On one is the monogram, the *chi-rho* ; the other has it, as well as the palm-branches, denoting the victory of the Christian faith. There is a pin of Roman date, such as Roman ladies wore in their hair, in the collection formed by Mr. Roach Smith. The end has the figure of a cross. When emblems of Christianity are thus to be observed as personal ornaments of every day use, we may fairly conclude that its belief was widely extended.

There are, however, some items of proof of the existence of Christianity, more especially in Wales, that deserve our attention, since they have an important bearing on our inquiry.

The Welsh Sees.—Reference is often made in the old histories to the existence of bishops of the British Church. We hear of their presence at early councils ; names are stated ; reference is made to the existence of sees at Caerleon, London, York, and other places ; statements that have been received with more or less credulity ; while there are many references to other bishops, probably all being more itinerant than in later times.

On attentive examination of the histories of the various existing bishoprics of the part of Britain which we now call Wales, we must be struck with one remarkable fact, that is, their origin was in the dim past, only indicated by records more or less open to doubt. The foundation of all the Anglo-Saxon bishoprics is clear and precise. We can tell nearly, if not always, the actual date, while we can turn to all but complete and authentic

records of the bishops. Not so in Wales. If we reject their origin in Roman times, or all but Roman times, apart from all influences of Augustine, which is asserted by the old chroniclers, we are left without any guide of any kind. The history of the transfer of the ancient see of Caerleon to the present site by St. David is, however, as circumstantially related as any event at so early a date can be ; but it must be borne in mind that this date is an early one. It is early in the sixth century, while there is some reference to an anterior foundation at Menevia, close to St. David's. Beyond this has to be added the whole period of time when the bishops held their seat within the walls of the ancient metropolis of South Britain (the famed city of legions), a period when history fails us. If we add but one hundred years prior to the transfer, we must be forced to recognise the Roman power and the bishopric as existing together.

The narrative of the spread of the Pelagian heresy is another source of direct information which we possess as to the existence of a large number of British Christians in the fifth and sixth centuries ; and the presence of St. Germanus and others, to refute it, is an item of reliable history. If so many were led astray by the erroneous teaching of the learned Briton, Pelagius, how large must have been the number of the believers ? The purity of doctrine, too, which they professed is sufficiently attested by the earnestness with which the controversy was conducted.

There is in Wales a series of monuments (and it is a large series) sufficient of itself to attest the existence of Christianity in the country. This is the fine collection of inscribed, sepulchral stones,—a collection unequalled, perhaps, by that of any other district, and which has received such admirable investigation at the hands of Professor Westwood, Professor Rhys, and many others. We have, first, inscriptions of Roman times, with lettering similar to other Roman monuments found all over Britain. We have others still with Roman letters, but with a simple cross, or with inscriptions, “In Pace”, or “Hic jacet”, or with the absence of the old formularies of heathen times, warranting the belief that the person commemorated was a Christian. These continue in an un-

broken series until the Roman lettering gives place to the so-called Hiberno-Saxon minuscule style, with its accompaniment of Celtic interlaced ornament and strap-work. There is no break in the continuity of the series, and it is sufficient to indicate to us that the Christian faith had its beginning in Roman times, and continued to exist through the succeeding centuries.

One of these monuments requires more than passing reference. It is the Carausius Stone, perhaps the most interesting monument in the Principality. Here we have evidence, beyond all controversy, of Christianity in Roman times. The Stone bears the name, a Romanised name, in Roman letters, in the Roman style. It has, too, the cross of Christianity combined with the *chi-rho*. The same occurs also on the Porus Stone at Lech Idris. The position of these Welsh stones is not without its significance. They may have been found in some fence, in the churchyard-wall, in rebuilding the edifice. They may appear to have no connection whatever with the present buildings. Still the fact is patent that in the great majority of cases the stones exist, or have been found, at no great distance from, if not within, the present churches of the country. Were this the case in but a few instances we could draw no conclusion from it. The reverse being so, it warrants the belief that these Christian memorials had some sort of connection with Christian places of meeting on the spot long anterior to the erection of the present buildings, but of the same date as the original ones.

Let us consider some of these stones. The name Sagramus or Sagramnus appears on a well known stone at St. Dogmael's, Pembroke, with a bilingual inscription in Oghams. The Latin inscription is in Roman capitals. The same may be said of the stone in Treillong Church, Brecon, where a wheeled cross is also inscribed, the Roman inscription being cut with great neatness, reading, "Cunocenni filius Cunocenni hic jacit." The stone on the road between Kenbegge and Margam reads "Punpeius Carantorius", there being Oghams to both of these. The Paulinus Stone at Dolau Cothy House has Roman lettering, as has also the Trenactus Stone, the stone found in taking down the old church of Llangefni.

Anglesey, which has been translated, "Culidonis lies here, and Orvvite, the wife of Secundus." That in the churchyard wall at Llandyssul reads, "Velvor, the daughter of Broho." These, and a vast number of others, present us with Roman or Romanised names in succession, and relate often to persons whose names loom through the dim records of the early period in which they lived. Thus the Paulinus referred to in the inscription is, doubtless, the St. Paulinus who was at the synod of Llanddewi Brevi for the confutation of the Pelagian heresy, assigned to A.D. 519. The St. Canna who appears to be referred to by the inscription on the curious chair inscribed with her name, in the churchyard at Llangan, was an Armorican lady, a relative of St. Germanus. The continuity of the Latin language on these stones is worthy of notice; and it may be said with truth that there is no sign of that tongue ever having died out of Wales, so far as lapidary inscriptions are concerned.

It is worthy of remembrance that as the Roman civilisation had permeated British society, so it must have been left when the Roman legions departed. In other countries this state of things is supposed to have been shattered more or less by the rude shock of barbarian conquest. In this respect Wales stands alone among the nations of the Roman world. The Roman civilisation, whatever stage it had reached, was never so extinguished in Wales, for the country was never entirely overrun. To this day the presence of Latin words is remarkable in the old language. The words of agriculture, architecture, religion, literature, the names of the month, and the numbers, show a remarkable resemblance. The late Rev. W. Williams gives a list, occupying twenty-six closely printed pages, of words similar in the Latin and other early languages. Professor Rhys has done very much the same. Doubts have been thrown upon the introduction of these words from ancient Roman sources, as is believed by Mr. Williams; but the consideration of the continuance of the Roman civilisation is amply sufficient to account for at least the largest part of the phenomenon. The force of this consideration is of value to the present inquiry, since it has its relation to the portions of Britain overrun by the Saxons. If Christianity is found to have

had its beginnings in Roman times, and its continuance in Wales through all the later troubles, was it not equally spread over the whole of Britain before those troubles began?

Wales has important evidence of the extent of its ancient Church of another kind besides its lapidary inscriptions. The names of places, from end to end of the Principality, point to this. They consist of the name of a saint, with the common prefix "Llan", or church, before it. The number of such names is remarkable. Sir James Picton has recently shown that at the present day there are four hundred and fifty-one parishes with churches so designated. This is apart from the vast number of places so called, where churches are supposed to have been. The saints to whom they are dedicated demand more notice than the mere affix of "church" to the place-name. They are the same saints who are referred to by name in the old and uncertain records as helping to spread the Christian faith in early times. Among them are the names of Germanus or Garmon, Illtyd, Paulinus, David, and a mass of others, men and women, who flourished in the fifth, sixth, seventh and later centuries. The number of churches remaining for so small a country is remarkable, only equalled by the references in the old records to the vast number of religious and learned men in the various colleges.

If these names were simply given to the parishes at some late period, when parishes were formed, their value in respect to this inquiry is gone. If it can be shown that they were prescribed by some bishop's injunction, to keep up the memory of men who had done so much good in their lifetimes, then we may regard the occurrence of the names with respect; but they would be of no other proof for our inquiry than that such persons were supposed to have lived. No such record is to be found since the twelfth century, and no reference to it earlier. On the contrary, we find at comparatively early date that the names by which we now know the places were then also in common use. As they were then, so are they now. The use made of them shows conclusively that they were then mere place-names in common parlance, used ordinarily as we now do the ordinary names of places, and sufficient to show that they were not then invented, but had been in

use long before. This portion of my inquiry seems never to have been noticed before, and it may be well to dwell upon it. We have clear evidence in proof. The *Brut y Tywysogion* (that most reliable of all the Welsh chronicles, evidently of earlier date than the time of Caradoc of Llancarvan) refers again and again to such names. Many other records may refer to still earlier dates; but these will be sufficient for the present purpose.

The prefix "Llan" before a name occurs so early as the year 720, when it is recorded that the sea breached the church of Llancarvan. Also, in 720, many of the churches of Llandar were broken by the unbelieving Saxons; also those of Llanbaden. In 950 the church of Llan Ildud was broken into. In 980 there was a battle at Llanwenog; 987, Llandydock was ravaged by the Danes, called elsewhere the "black pagans". So on all through the tenth and eleventh centuries, Llanvedwy, Llandudock, Llandathan, and a vast number of others are mentioned. Battles are fought at them, castles are built or taken, and such like events occur. There is no reference to the church, more than the name, which is used merely as a place-name. This use is, however, abundantly sufficient to show that the calling of the place after the name of the saint (and that there was a church actually there) is no mere creation of late date; but that it was firmly rooted, apparently in very early times, long anterior to the date of the history cited.

We may show, too, that this is noticeable also in other districts where the British remained strongest after the departure of the Romans. Cornwall is, like Wales, remarkable for the fact that the great bulk of the churches are dedicated to early saints. From end to end of the county this is so apparent that dedications of saints with familiar names, as in other parts of England, are of such rarity as to give occasion for the belief that they show a foundation anterior to Saxon or Norman times. Monmouth, Herefordshire, and Devon, are districts once occupied by the British race, as well as elsewhere, from which they were expelled at varying dates. We find evidences just as we might expect to find them supposing the truth of my belief be conceded, that such names were fairly general throughout all Britain in early times, in propor-

tion to the spread of Christianity. Amid a number of dedications to saints of familiar names, such as were common in Saxon times, we find here and there some of ancient British names not known in the roll of Saxon saints. This is particularly the case in Monmouth, and to some extent in Hereford. In Devon we find a few dedications to SS. Patrick, Petrock, Germanus, and to St. Martin,—a saint, however, whose name has continued from remote times through the middle ages. I showed at Tavistock, two years ago, that some of these dedications existed in the twelfth century as they now do in the nineteenth.

In addition to the names in the districts lying closest to Wales, Mr. T. Kerslake, F.S.A., has shown that one of the Bristol churches is dedicated to the British St. Ewan, who has also a church at Hereford.

This inquiry widens as we proceed, for it is found that what applies to the districts named does so also to Brittany. Here the Celtic tongue lingers, and the names of the churches sound as they do in Wales. They are dedicated to the same saints, and it can be shown that these saints passed from one country to another, visiting in turn Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and it may be the Isle of Man and Scotland; while from those places visits were paid back again to Brittany, to Wales, Cornwall, and elsewhere. The records of the intercommunication between all these countries is very remarkable, and it points to the existence of common manners and habits between the people. The Cambrian missionaries in Armorica founded the sees of Quimper, St. Paul de Leon, Frequier, St. Briec, St. Malo, and perhaps Dol. St. Cadwan was born in Armorica, and ended his days at Bardsley. St. Malo was educated at St. Iltud's College, as were also Samson, Thelian, Briec, Fragan, and Frugdual. These all had missions in Brittany, as had Paul Aurelian and even St. David. Llandivence, Brittany, was founded by Guenole, Llanninnoch by Ninnoch or Non, St. David's mother. We hear of similar names which are alike in Wales and Brittany, such as Llancarvan and Llaniltud, and many more. St. Patern, born at Llanbadarn in Wales, went to Armorica, and was created Bishop of Vannes.

The evidence of the calling of a place after the name

of the church is common in Ireland ; while, as if to prove that this was a regular and fixed custom in the early British Church, we find that at a later period, when its influence in the north of England had merged into the Anglo-Saxon Church, some sort of tradition of it is to be met with. The Danes in this district, on professing Christianity, called their churches by a place-name with the prefix "Kirk". The Saxons hardly ever copied the British Church in this respect; but as if to show that the custom was known to them, a few, and but a few, of the Saxon foundations have the suffix "minster" after a place-name, while in some parts of Hereford and Salop there are Saxon foundations following the older fashion, with "church" after the place-name. The British Church was founded without reference to that of papal Rome, and the evidences of its strength and ability to stand upon the inherent power of its own institution are of great interest; while the references in Bede and other histories, of the absence of intercourse between the two Churches, which he frequently states, may be referred to as further evidence of the existence, and the separate existence, of the British Church.

I have given a brief list of relics of Roman Christianity from all parts of Britain ; but I have reserved to the conclusion reference to the actual remains of buildings. A few years ago this would have been a matter of impossibility. It is now capable of proof that at the little church of St. Martin, Canterbury, and also in that of St. Pancras, Canterbury, portions of the walling are of late Roman date. These are all but perfectly orientated. The early dedication of St. Pancras is lost, the present name having been given by Augustine shortly after his landing. It is expressly told us that he found St. Martin's so dedicated on his arrival; and we have thus in Britain evidence of the custom of dedication to a saint as existing anterior to the sixth century, apart from influence of the Church of Rome. In Wales, as in Scotland and Ireland, there are the remains of a few simple buildings whose appearance and position denote very high antiquity. Hen Dinbych (Old Denbigh) or Hen Eglwys (Old Church), as it is variously called, is a small rectangular building standing east and west, the foundations of which exist

within what is apparently a small Roman entrenchment. It forms so integral a portion of the enclosure as to warrant the belief that the banks were thrown up around it, as we see in the later Treen churches of the Isle of Man. At Brownslade, Mr. Laws has found traces of a small building traditionally known as a chapel, lying east and west, 16 feet long by 12 feet wide. It stood close to a cemetery where some of the interments were also orientated. The late Professor Rolleston pronounced these to be not older than the Roman period. A small cross-marked stone was also found.

Some relics of apparently Christian service have been found, believed by Dr. Rock to be spoons used for anointing in baptism. As if in support of his theory, these have been found close to springs or other "living" water, and in couples, one being perforated for the passage of the anointing oil. Be this as it may, the ornamentation of the articles is of Roman-British date, similar to that of the so called British bronze shields, and indicating the rudiments, and no more, of the Celtic style of ornament of a later age.

In conclusion. The consideration of what was passing on the Continent will show that there is nothing whatever unreasonable in the belief that Christianity was fairly widely spread in Britain at the end of the fifth century. The nominal conversion of Constantine the Great was followed by the growth of Christianity on its assuming the position of the state religion, and after that event its progress was rapid. By the fifth century the worship of the deities of antiquity had ceased in Gaul, on the opposite side of the Channel. Is it not more reasonable to believe that Britain kept pace with the progress of civilisation elsewhere than that it did not do so? From the conversion of Constantine to the departure of the Roman legions from Britain there was no less a period than about one hundred years; and we have no reason to believe that the civilisation of the country ceased then and there at that date. The incursion of the Saxon hordes was gradual, and it took one hundred and fifty years before the fall of Chester severed Wales from Elmett (the district around Leeds); longer still before the Northumberland districts were wrested from the Britons; still longer

before the victorious arms of Æthelstan caused the capture of the remainder of Devon and the whole of Cornwall.

NOTES.

For evidences of the intercommunication between Wales and the other districts named, see *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv, p. 229.

For further reference to some of the relics of early Christianity named, see "Pre-Augustine Christianity in Britain", by J. W. Grover, Esq., F.S.A., C.E. (*Journal*, as above, xxiii, p. 221.)

There is a notice of the Frampton pavement, also by Mr. Grover, in vol. xxviii, p. 217; while the same gentleman renders some curious notes on the early traditions on Welsh converts of St. Paul in the volume for 1878, p. 1.

The finding of the silver bracelets at Fifehead Neville is reported in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii, New Series, p. 543.

The discovery of the Roman *bullæ* at Silchester is named in *Archæologia*, xlvi, p. 363.

The lists of Welsh words occur in various volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in which there are also sketches of the inscribed stones. There are other plates of the latter in Professor Westwood's work now being issued.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE
OF
HULTON ABBEY, NEAR STOKE-UPON-TRENT,
CO. STAFFORD.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

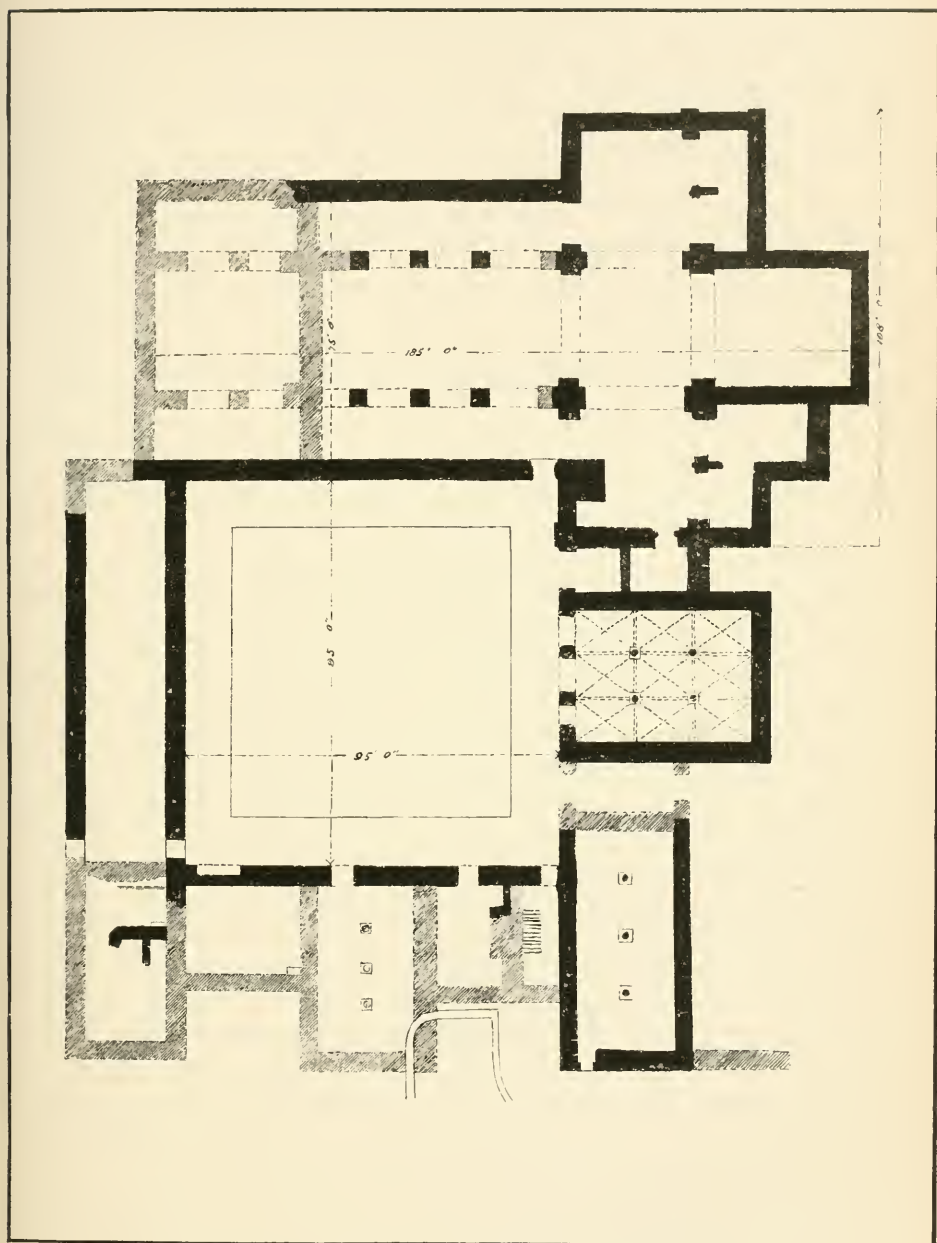
(Read 7th January 1885.)

THE history of these explorations is as follows. Workmen from Keele Hall were engaged at Hulton in repairing or cleansing some drainage works, and by chance they came upon fragments of the Abbey remains. This being reported to the Rev. Walter Sneyd, the owner, he directed further search to be made, the result being that a bit or two of old walls and one or two stone coffin lids were revealed, and Mr. Sneyd gave further orders for search. At this time an anonymous letter appeared in the *Staffordshire Sentinel*, directing attention to the so-called "vandalism" that was going on here. Mr. Gill, the steward of the estate, fell in with Mr. Sneyd's directions, and Mr. Johnson acted as Clerk of Works throughout the process of digging. Too much gratitude cannot be given to Mr. Sneyd, and all those acting under him, for having brought before us not only the site, but the very foundations, of the Abbey Church and its conventual buildings. No doubt the most interesting fragments have gone to Keele Hall. I confess it is to my mind a point of great nicety, whether it was the right thing to do to remove these relics from the Abbey itself, but Mr. Sneyd has no doubt on the subject, and he argues that if left here they must either have been buried again and so lost to the future, or in all probability they would have got broken up or conveyed away, nobody knows where; whereas at Keele they are under a fostering care, and will be kept in safety, and will be open to inspection to those who have the opportunity of seeing them. Mr. Sneyd is too good an antiquary to have done anything he had not thoroughly worked out, and about which he

was not satisfied of the correctness of his conclusions. As to myself, all that I have done has been to answer a few questions put to me by Mr. Gill and Mr. Johnson, and to take some measurements of what they have found. This brings me to the explorations themselves, and I am able to tell you that there is scarcely a single feature of the plan of the buildings which has not been brought to light with more or less precision, from which I have been able to lay down a tolerably complete plan of the original establishment.

Before proceeding with the details of its arrangement, allow me briefly to call attention to its generalities. First of all, the church lies to the north, its longer axis running, as is usual, east and west. South of the church is the cloister garth. The main feature on its eastern side is the chapter-house; on its south side the refectory; and on the west the *domus conversorum*. The fratriy, or day-room, ran north and south, in continuation of the chapter-house range. South-east of the conventual buildings was, and indeed is, a large pool which served the house with water, and found power for a mill which formerly stood just below it. On a plan sent to me by Mr. Gill, and made in 1848, a mill is shown in this situation.

This pool seems also to have supplied a moat which surrounded the buildings on the east and north sides. The tail water of the mill bounded the buildings on the south and west sides, so that there was a water fence all round the boundary of the precincts, and the tail water ran into an elaborate system of fish ponds lying between the Abbey buildings and the river Trent. The outline of these fishponds, with their connecting streams, are still to be made out, and might, perhaps, with some trouble, be accurately defined. The source of all this water supply was the stream which comes from the hills east of the site, and now forms the boundary between the parishes of Burslem and Stoke-upon-Trent, the Abbey being in the parish of Burslem. Everyone gives credit to the Cistercians for their agricultural skill, and I believe that if a careful plan of the uses they made of the power and of the fertilising properties of water here and elsewhere were made, we should be bound to give them much praise for their knowledge as hydraulic engineers.



GROUND PLAN, HULTON PRIORY.



We come now to notice the origin of this monastery. We learn from sound authority that it was founded by Henry de Audley or Auditheley, in the year of our Lord 1223. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Benedict, and was occupied by monks of the Cistercian order, and was endowed by its founder with lands, including the "vills of Hulton and Rushton, the wood of Sneyd, the Hoy or small park of Cavermont, lands in Bucknall and Normacot, and the vills and estates of Mixne, Bradnop, Middlecliff, Arpesford, Morridge, Ancot, and some others". Fuller, in his *Worthies*, exclaims of Henry de Audley: "What manner of man was this Henry that so many of both sexes should centre their bounty upon him? was it for fear or love? or a mixture of both?" Of this Henry, Mr. Ward, in his *History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent*, gives many interesting particulars. He built the Castle at Heleigh, some nine miles west of this abbey, and was Constable of the Castle of Newcastle-under-Lyme. He died in 1246, and was succeeded by his son James, who also attained to great honour. In 1356 he served under Edward the Black Prince, in the battle of Poitiers, where, with his four esquires, he performed such extraordinary feats as distinguished him from all the gallant noblemen engaged. He was succeeded by his son Nicholas, who died without issue in 1392, and was buried in the choir of this Abbey. His widow, Lady Elizabeth, bestowed upon this Abbey considerable property of her own; and by her will, dated 1400, directed her body to be buried in her husband's sepulchre in the Abbey. Mr. Ward has a note that a stone coffin in Burslem churchyard is supposed to have belonged to this lady, and to have been removed from the Abbey.

With this Nicholas, Lord Audley, the male line of the family failed, and the estates passed into other hands. Erdeswick, referring to the great Henry de Audley, and this Abbey which he founded, says:—

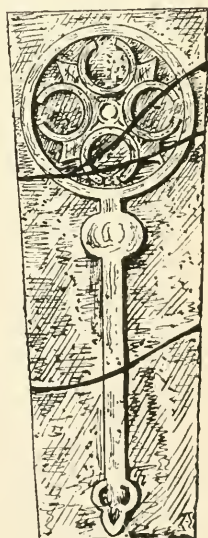
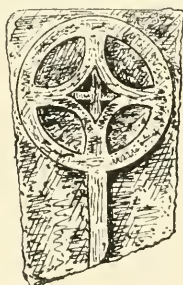
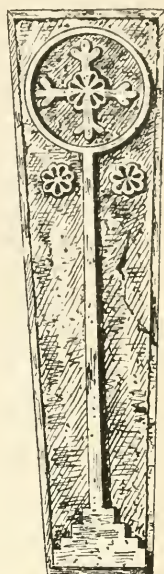
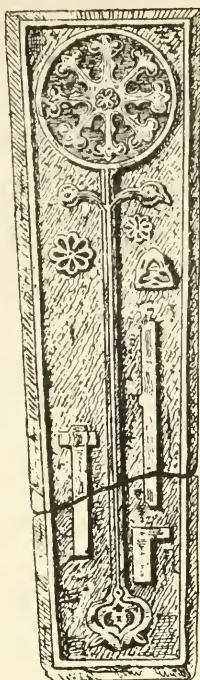
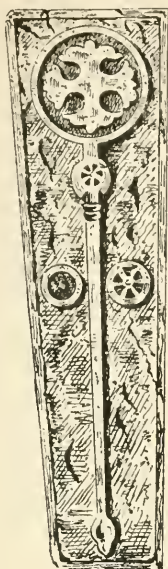
"The holy fane which he devoutly built,
His heirs despoiled, like wolves, with savage guilt."

Mr. Ward gives a copy of the charter, by which Sir Henry, after enumerating the lands he makes over to the

Abbey, says:—"They are to be kept and cultivated by themselves (the monks) and their successors for ever, freely and quietly, peacefully and honourably, away from all earthly slavery and custom." It appears as though man may not look forward on an earthly "for ever". For more than three centuries the monks of Hulton have had no successors; their lands have been cultivated by other hands, their house despoiled, and its foundations buried deep beneath the soil. At the dissolution of the Abbey the lands were granted to Sir Edward Aston, or Ashton, of Tixall, Bart., and were purchased from his successors about the year 1618 by Ralph Sneyd, Esq., of Keele Hall, and they now belong to the Rev. Walter Sneyd, of that place.

I have said that most of the features of plan (see Plate) have been discovered; but it is worth while to notice more particularly the more prominent parts. The points where dressed stone-work in its proper place have been found are at the gable of the north transept of the church and the west wall of this transept; the base of the pillar between the two chapels of the south transept (in a very perfect state); also the respond piers to these chapels; the western end of the south wall of chancel; the gable of south transept with its western return; the north wall of "cell" against this transept, and what was probably the staircase wall from the monks' dormitory; the bases of three pillars on the south side of the nave, and a continuous base of the corresponding pillars on the north side, with a cross wall westward; the south-west angle of the chapter-house, with the bases and parts of the shafts of its four central columns; the south gable of the monks' day-room, with the eastern jamb of a doorway in it; the bases of two of its central piers; some walling on the north side of the kitchen, with the drain from same; some walling at the south-western end of great western block, with a stone step and drain near to same.

The foundations of the following walls have also been traced:—The east wall of chancel; the great south-western pier of central tower; the south wall of church; the east and west walls of western block; all the walls of chapter-house and of the monks' day-room, or fratory;





the north wall of refectory, and the wall of a building running east from the south end of fratriy; also the wall of the cloister-walk at its north-east angle.

The fragments of the buildings now lodged at Keele Hall consist of four bases and parts of shafts of the centre piers of the chapter-house, two circular and two octagonal; some window-jambs; some groin-ribs and central springers; a portion of a stone screen, and the base and trefoil shaft of some arcading; a corbel, which carried timbers, and some arch mouldings. There are also nine coffin lids, more or less perfect, which vary in date and character, and give a very clear idea of the gradual development of this class of design. The early ones are of the simplest form, marked out by a mere incised line. Then comes the incised line with a slight tendency to relief in the prominent parts; and afterwards the ornamentation is in full relief. All of them are probably of thirteenth century or early fourteenth century workmanship.

It will be seen that the circular form at the head of the cross prevails in all the designs. (See Plate.) This figure, which was regarded as the emblem of eternity, never seems to have escaped the minds of the old workmen on features of this class. Several of these stones are very beautiful; but there is one of exceeding great interest, having on it in relief the representation of a straight edge, a double-edged axe, and a square, together with a cusped and carved equilateral triangle. This was a figure on which much of the constructional and artistic design of ancient gothic architecture was founded. This stone, no doubt, marked the burial-place of either the architect or chief mason of the Abbey itself; and it is certainly extraordinary that part of his work, and this memorial slab, should now be brought together for our admiration after the lapse of more than six hundred years.

It is a curious fact that all these memorial slabs were found in the bottom of the drain which served the kitchen of the Abbey, and they formed the floor of that drain. One can hardly conceive that the monks would lay hands on the grave-stones of their departed brethren, and apply them to a purpose of this sort; but it is clear

that this drain came from their kitchen, and it is hardly to be supposed that the kitchen was in use after the dissolution. Memorial slabs have often been found in foundations and in walls, but this is the first time I have seen or heard of them being put at the bottom of a kitchen drain. I wish someone would suggest a less offensive interpretation of this fact; but it will not do simply to call the drain a modern one. There is another drain near to the western block still to be seen, which probably served for the buttery and for the lavatory. A stone sink has been found in the place, that would fix it within the buttery. This is now at Keele, as well as another stone with a circular sinking in it, like a shallow bowl, which may have been used as a holy water stoup. There is an appearance about it of having been subject to heat, in which case it may have held a charcoal fire. Two sides of this stone are bevelled and tooled. Large quantities of the groin rib to be seen here were found in the chapter-house. When looking at the window jamb, it seemed to me that I had seen the same kind of stones elsewhere; and on further thinking on the matter, and referring to my sketch-book, I found particulars of two stones exactly similar to these as being used as horse-blocks at the farmhouse close to Ford Green station, which, at the time, I thought must have come from Norton old church; but it is quite clear they formed part of a window at Hulton Abbey. This rather corroborates Mr. Sneyd's view, that archæological fragments are liable to be carried off anywhere.

Many pieces of floor-tiles, beautiful in design, have been found, with a great variety of patterns upon them. One has the coat of arms of Audley on it. For the most part they are of thirteenth century date. Sundry pieces of pottery have also been found; and it is extraordinary that two of these correspond with specimens I lately saw in the Guildhall Museum and in the Stock Exchange, London. One looks like a water-pipe; and the other, the rude, half-baked, hand-made pot, which is perhaps the least broken specimen here. Those at the Guildhall and Stock Exchange were found in foundations in the city of London, and are attributed to Roman workmanship; but what do learned potters say of these specimens? The

rude, red-bodied, black-glazed pitchers have a fellow in a little specimen of the same kind lately found in Stoke.

A circular piece of ancient stained glass of early date is also to be seen here. The leathern bottle which Mr. Sneyd has had in his possession for some time also came from Hulton, of which there is another good specimen in the Guildhall Museum in London. This bottle has the monogram M.D. stamped upon it.

Thanks to Mr. Sneyd, we have now seen the long buried foundations of this Abbey, which Henry De Audley founded more than six and a half centuries ago, and fragments of many articles which its inmates handled; and to many of our minds the whole institution has been restored, with its living occupants quietly busy at their toil and at their worship. My hope is that this retrospect may not be altogether unprofitable to us.

British Archaeological Association.

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING, TENBY, 1884.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2ND, TO THURSDAY, THE 11TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1884.

IN the long and somewhat varied course of forty-one years, during which the British Archæological Association has studied to examine the antiquities yet remaining among us, Wales has been seldom visited; hence the Congress held in North Wales, with Llangollen as a base of operations, a few years ago, has been judiciously followed up by the visit to Tenby, in the extreme south of the ancient Principality. Tenby has much to attract. The town is situated on the western face of the Bay of Carmarthen, with the island of Caldy and the Penally heights on the south-west. It is built on a rocky spit of mountain-limestone rising nearly 100 feet above the level of the sea. Within the cliffs is the small Bay of Tenby, which is still further protected from the open sea by a rocky hill connected with the main peninsula by a narrow isthmus, crowned with the ruined remains of the ancient Castle, beyond which is the rocky islet of St. Catherine.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to fix on any spot in Wales that does not abound in antiquities of that class which the Association has marked out as objects of its especial study and its veneration. Tenby is not deficient in a very large and varied category of the relics of far bygone ages; and those which were selected by the Congress Committee for inspection by the members of the Association on this occasion are typical of Welsh archæology, and representative specimens of large classes, which time would not permit to be examined in detail. Nor is this necessary. The Cambrian Archæological Association and other Societies that exist in this part of Great Britain have so carefully exhausted and so critically examined nearly all the numerous phases of this great branch of science, that the British Archæological Association would be essaying a useless task if it were to undertake the elucidation of Welsh antiquities looked at from a purely Cambrian point of view. But to those of the Association who have never hitherto had the opportunity of comparing Welsh with English phases of prehistoric remains and of mediæval architecture, the advantages are manifest; and there are few who will fail to improve their knowledge of our island antiquities if they study the objects visited.

At noon, a large party of not less than a hundred members and

visitors proceeded to the Town Hall, where Mr. W. H. Richards, Mayor, and the Town Council, in a few graceful words courteously welcomed the Association to the ancient town.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's, President, delivered the inaugural address, which has been printed above, at pp. 1-16.

Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., moved a vote of thanks to the Bishop for his address, and cited the existence of Roman roads and the discovery of Roman coins as proofs of the Roman occupation of the county.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, in seconding the vote referred to the valuable work on St. David's which was the joint production of the Bishop and Professor Freeman.

The President said that since he had written his remarks on the Roman occupation he had been shown a stone in the wall of a church which was undoubtedly a Roman stone. This he regarded as stronger evidence than the finding of coins, which could be carried beyond the country of their ordinary circulation.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., gave an address on "Maces", and having traced their origin and use, he described the Corporation maces of Haverfordwest, Pembroke, and Tenby, which were produced for inspection. It is hoped that the remarks will be printed hereafter, as a paper, in the *Journal*.

The President expressed the thanks of the company to Mr. Lambert; and after Mr. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, had referred to the proposed proceedings of the week at Tenby, the meeting at the Town Hall terminated.

The company then adjourned to inspect the town walls, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Laws, who, in a short paper which he read in the garden of the Royal Lion Hotel, explained that originally there were four gates to the town walls, which had been built, rebuilt, altered, modified, and further altered, over a period of about five hundred and forty years. For about the last two hundred and thirty years, however, or after the close of the wars occasioned in Cromwell's time, nothing had been done to the walls either in building or to retard the natural consequences of increasing old age. There were, he said, nine towers left of those which originally existed; seven of them round, and two rectangular. Mr. Laws then gave a *résumé* of the history of the town and the walls, and mentioned, *inter alia*, that on one occasion Tenby was well nigh uninhabited, having been burned down by a Welsh prince. At the back of the Hotel garden a large fragment of the wall clearly indicates the efforts made to add to the strength of the defences of the town by increasing the thickness, the builders of the newer part simply throwing up an additional wall side by side with the old one, without bonding. Mr. Laws recapitulated the principal events in which the town walls of Tenby had taken part during

the middle ages and the civil war of the Commonwealth; and the members and visitors were then conducted round the town, halting at several points of interest, some of which required more explanation and elucidation than time allowed,—as, for example, some walled-up arches of a somewhat Norman appearance at the back of the town. Mr. Laws said he could not explain why this had been done.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, remarked that, whatever the age of the wall might be, the arches were comparatively modern.

The circular bastion on the west side, of massive and imposing strength, undoubtedly, when first constructed, was now insignificant from a strategic point of view. This portion of the old wall-defences of the town is fairly well maintained in order by the authorities, who have very wisely not yielded to the temptation of removing masses of masonry standing, to some extent, in the way of the traffic.

The remains (mere *disjecta membra*) of a house of Carmelites (now a wine-cellar) contain some small sculptured slabs in low relief, bearing scrolls and foliage, of uncertain date, but marred with a pretended inscription. These were found by the present occupier, who has let them into the wall. They are worthy of careful examination.

The party then proceeded to the Tenby Local Museum on the Castle Hill, where a small but very complete and typical collection of specimens illustrating the natural history of the neighbourhood has been carefully gathered together under the supervision of the late much respected Mr. C. Allen, long a resident in Tenby, and a great benefactor to the town; the late Prof. Rolleston, and others. In the upper room, on a table, had been arranged a large collection of Corporation charters, records, seals, and miscellaneous documents, exhibited by the town of Tenby and the adjacent boroughs of Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, explained some of the principal points of noteworthy interest among these documents and seals, and in doing so he drew the attention of those under whose charge the relics are at present placed to the urgent necessity of providing some more suitable method of preservation than it would seem had hitherto been accorded to them.¹ If this were done, the gradual decay which damp and injudicious folding inevitably work upon all old parchment writings, and which is lamentably apparent in most of the tattered deeds and clipped seals at this time under the inspection of the Association, would be arrested in time, if not to save altogether, at least to preserve in a great measure, the texts of charters and privileges which, it may be, a future and more care-taking age will regard as priceless evidences of corporate rights and immunities.

Mr. Laws then referred to the statement of the President in his inaugural address, to the effect that there were few, if any, evidences

¹ The Tenby charters have, since the Congress, been placed in a case, and preserved against future injury.

of a Roman occupation of Pembrokeshire. He showed a number of Roman coins in a glass case in the lower room, which had been dug up in the neighbourhood, and some that he had personally discovered. He went on then to speak of the "long barrow" which he had assisted in unearthing at Brownslade, the residence of Colonel Lambton. A collection of human skulls was also found at the spot; and in making the excavations so many were brought up that another pit was made to put them back in. In this second operation they came upon a kistvaen containing human bones, ox-bones, sheep-bones, and those of goats. They also came upon some small bronze rings, a stoup, and what was thought to be a portion of an early Christian chapel. The objects found consist of stone sockets on which pivots of doors turned (some of these slabs are double, as if they had been turned over when worn out), a small bronze carring, and a brass ring. The most important find, however, was a small rectangular slab about 6 inches square, bearing a roughly incised circle, of irregular outline, enclosing a rude cross. Mr. Laws considers this to be an indication of Christian occupation of the site, and probably post-Roman. The field was called "Churchways", and an old gentleman living in the neighbourhood said he remembered the gable end of an old chapel standing there.

A number of objects of interest were also shown as the result of excavations at Stackpoole Warren, the site of what was supposed to be a prehistoric village. Several bronze implements were unearthed, and at one place where the Earl of Cawdor had been exploring there was a legend which told of a gold bedstead being in the ground. They did not, however, manage to get at the precious treasure, but human bones were found; and in the same neighbourhood there were implements of iron and of bronze, tending to show how the different ages overlapped.

Having concluded the examination of the Museum, the parish church of St. Mary was next visited by the party, where the Rev. G. Huntington, rector and vicar, pointed out many features. The church is one of the most remarkable in Wales, and has a very impressive and solemn appearance. Its dimensions are 145 feet long by 80 feet broad. The altar is approached by a flight of steps of such proportions and beauty as to be surpassed by few sacred edifices in the kingdom. The church must have grown to its present dimensions and aspect from a very small beginning; but there are, it was said, no documents giving dates. Its history could best be told by a clever archæologist and architect, appearances being in favour of the theory that the present building was really three churches, or portions of churches, now constituting a single fabric. Notwithstanding its great size, and the fact that in the summer season they had to provide seating accommodation for about 1,800, the acoustic properties were excellent, the preacher,

with the greatest ease, being able to make himself heard. This the Rector attributed to the peculiar shape of the roof.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, described the gradual architectural accretions which have been added from time to time to form the sacred pile, pointing out that in his opinion the south aisle stands upon the site of the original nave, and that the tower at the east end of that aisle originally stood at the crossing between nave and chancel, probably, of a cruciform church. Although the church, he said, differed in many respects from the majority of the Pembrokeshire churches, it had, after all, a good number of the characteristics of the Welsh edifice. The church must have increased to its present proportions from very small beginnings. The town, church, and everything had, as they heard earlier in the evening, been burned down by a Welsh prince, and the sacred edifice had been restored afterwards. He fixed the first portion of the building at probably the year 1250, as the architecture corresponds with that date, though if it were in England he would be inclined to put it fifty years earlier. He endorsed the remarks of the Rector as to the acoustic properties, and accounted for this excellence by the fact that the roof was not so high, in comparison with the great size of the church, as in most buildings. It would be an advantage if the example were followed in the present day.

The alabaster tombs of the White family, now greatly defaced, were examined with attention; but the carved effigies of some of the subjects in the panels require further investigation.

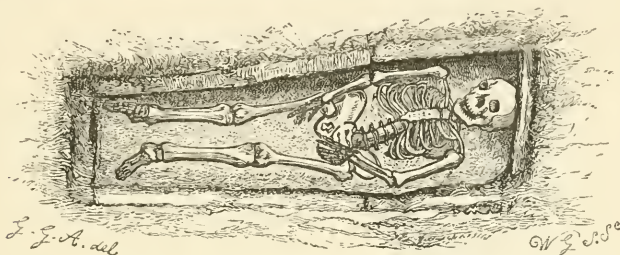
The Bishop of St. David's, speaking as a Bishop (and not, he said, in the capacity of an archæologist, as he had at the inauguration), thanked the Rector and Mr. Brock for the very useful observations they had made, and especially the latter for the admirable way in which he had told the church's architectural history.

A public dinner, at which ladies were present, was held in the evening in the "Public Room", the Bishop of St. David's presiding.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER.

The early morning of Wednesday was wet, as the members of the Congress, led by Mr. Wright, F.S.A., made their way to the special train which was to take them to Pembroke; but the sun broke out soon afterwards, and the rest of the day was fine and enjoyable. Entering carriages and waggonettes, the first halt was at a large piece of wild land called "Churchways", near Brownslade, the seat of Colonel Lambton, who, with Lady Victoria Lambton, the Dean of St. David's, and Miss Allen, met the party. Shortly before the arrival of the visitors, the so called "long barrow" which Mr. Laws and Mr. Wright had a few days before arranged with Colonel Lambton should be further examined, had been opened. This large tumulus is a hemispherical

dune or hillock of sand blown together in past ages by the wind, which has lifted it from the now distant seashore to the top of the old red sandstone rocks upon which it lies. Probably the bulk of the hillock has been augmented by later burials. Numerous human bones had been exhumed by the time the party arrived; but more systematic digging was then commenced, and it was not long before a grave built with vertical slabs roughly trimmed, and covered with three or four slabs overlapping like modern roofing slates, was uncovered. The illustration, drawn by our Associate, Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., shows the interment. This was found to contain the skeleton of an



adult man with a jaw of great strength and a perfect set of teeth. The vertebræ were twisted in a way which showed either that the body had been violently thrust into too small a grave, or that it lay in the attitude it assumed when a violent or a painful death supervened. The general opinion of those present inclined to the belief that this was a prehistoric, or at all events a primitive, cemetery which was subsequently adopted by the Christians, whose bones were therefore mixed up with those of their pagan predecessors. No relics were found that would warrant the fixing of any period to this interment. The hill is covered with these rude graves lying thickly together in three or more layers. The skeleton lay east and west. A few teeth of cows, some shells of the limpet and mussel, some white, waterworn stones of more or less spherical form, are all the data that the excavation yielded. There appeared to be an attempted orientation of the graves noticeable in some cases.

It is to be regretted that one or more of these heathen graves should not be carefully removed in its entirety to the British Museum, which may well, in this respect, take advantage of the teaching of foreign Museums.

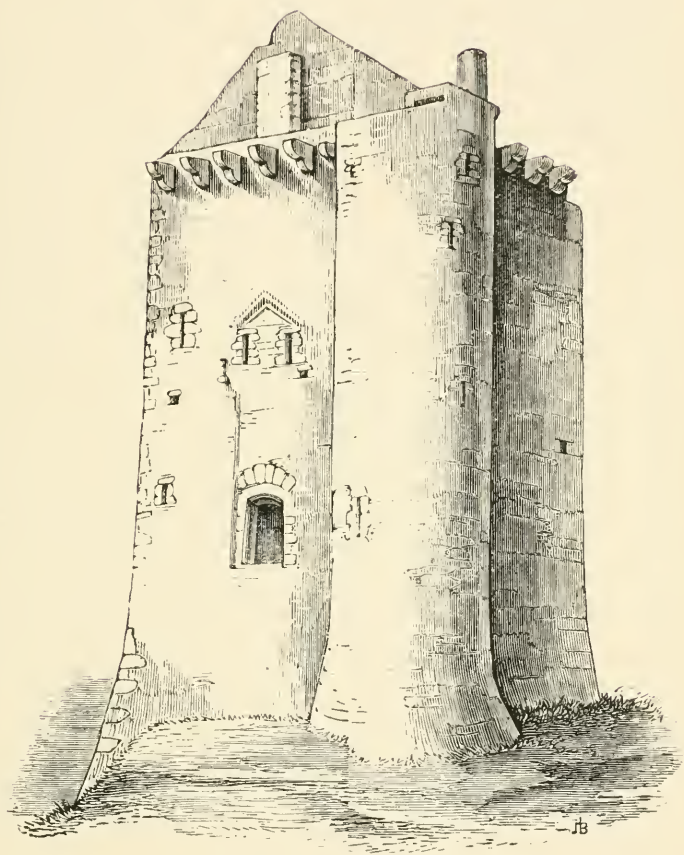
Hard by this archaic cemetery, and surrounded by indications of walls buried beneath the grass, remain the ruined stone walls of an edifice rectangular in plan, measuring 10 feet by 17 feet 6 inches, declared by Mr. Brock (who takes into consideration the fact of its lying east and west, the hardness of its mortar, and the record that within living memory the east wall had a window and gable or pointed

roof-line) to be another of the now gradually increasing evidences of the remote Christianity which is thought to have flourished in England and Wales during, or very rapidly following, Roman times. Curiously enough, at the south end of the west wall is the step of the narrow door, and the large, up-standing, conical stone which has been used to form the south-east corner of the wall, strongly suggests that this edifice occupied the site of a yet more archaic temple or sacrificing house; just in the same way as the purely heathen burial in the *kistvaen*, where the kneeling or crouching body points to paganism, was surrounded by sepultures of a later, different, and possibly Christian cultus. Both the church and the cemetery are instances of conversion and adaptation from original designs,—an almost universal practice throughout the Christian world.

Further away, seaward, in the throat of one of those broad, gully-like clefts in the rocks which let in the flood-tide long ago, but are now choked with blown sand, stands the commanding and extensive camp of Warman's Hill, of large and almost rectangular area, rounded corners, and bold escarpments, here and there crested with loose stonework not yet quite hidden by the creeping vegetation which will sooner or later clothe the ancient stronghold with its velvety, green sward. To this safe refuge were hurried the cattle and the females of the tribe, whose village, church, and cemetery lay adjacent to the necessary water, which was not to be found near the camp itself, nor in view of the sea.

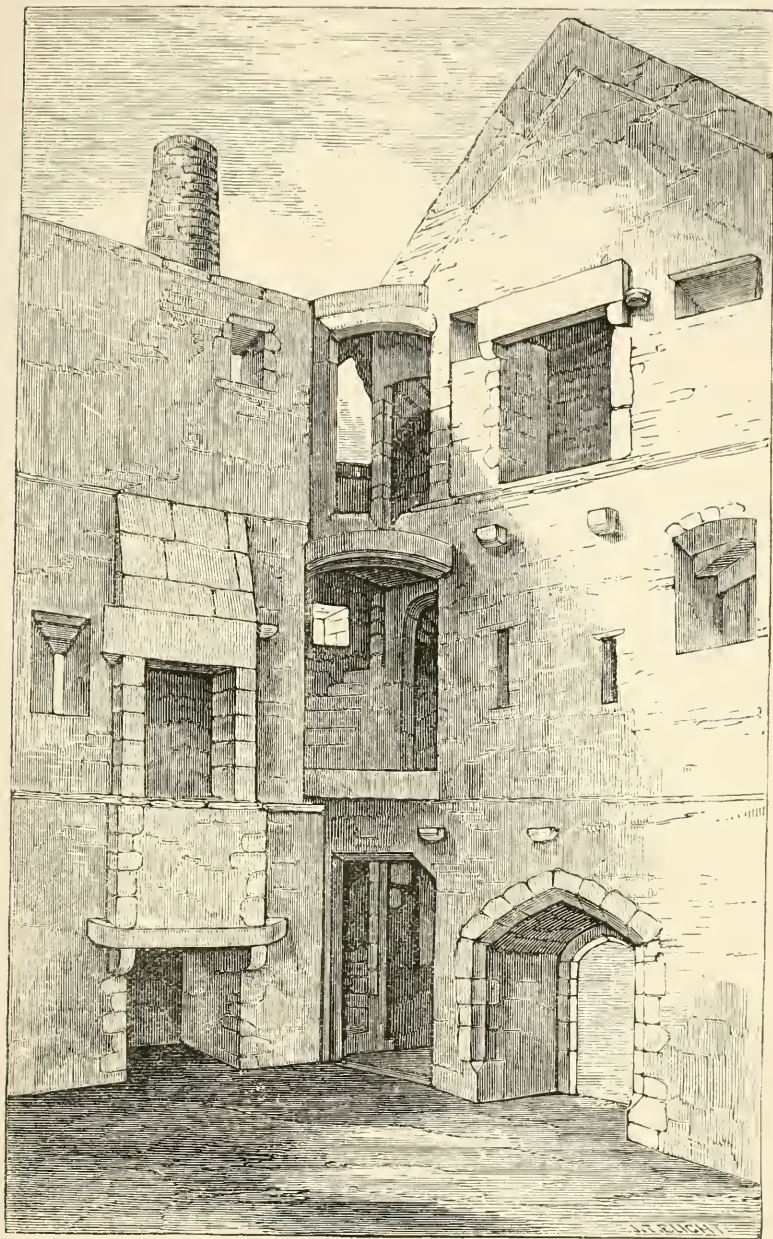
Castle Martin was the next halting-place. Here the Dean of St. David's explained the peculiar features of the sacred structure, which in its position much resembles St. David's Cathedral. The church presents many curious features; principally the indications of gable-roof and chancel-arch, of modest dimensions, on the east face of the tower-wall, perhaps pointing out the size and the situation of the original nave; the porch, in which are traces of a gallery; and the battering tower with a corbeled, battlemented course and no buttresses,—a pattern of a tower, not unlike those of Angle, Rhoscrowther, and others within the Congress programme. Here is an early font carved with twelfth century foliage at the top corners, with an engrailed border running along the sides; here, too, a churchyard-cross, disfigured by the cross of modern proportions which has been, with ingenious economy, constructed out of the original shaft; and some quaintly carved capitals in a house believed to have been the old vicarage, adjoining the churchyard, now a cottage.

The drive was continued, under the guidance of Mr. Edward J. L. Scott, M.A., of the British Museum, to the village of Angle, once the parish of Giraldus Cambrensis, the historian. Here the party inspected a mortuary chapel standing in the churchyard, in excellent repair.



OLD RECTORY HOUSE, ANGLE. (EXTERIOR.)





OLD RECTORY HOUSE, ANGLE. (INTERIOR.)



They also visited and inspected a fortified tower of the "Peel" type, which is said to have been used as the rectory. Its ornamental windows, turrets, etc., and a mediæval dovecote close by, were much admired. It is now fallen into evil plight as a coal-shed.

From Castle Martin the party proceeded to Newton Burrows, where a cromlech, close by the high road, was commented upon by Mr. Scott. The top stone slab, which weighs several tons, has now assumed almost a prostrate position, in consequence of the supports having gone from under it by the burrowing of sheep. Mr. Scott said he had made inquiries, and found that no stone of the same description was to be found nearer the spot where this was situate than near the beach, 200 yards below the level of the Burrows.

At Rhoscerowther, the Rev. G. H. Scott, Rector, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Congress, gave all the information that was to be imparted. Attention was first directed to an inscribed stone now built into the outside of the churchyard wall, near the south-eastern gateway. The marks of the implement which was employed to cut it are now almost illegible. The stone is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and of an oblong form, bearing on its eastern face irregular characters. Professor I. O. Westwood, when visiting the place on a previous occasion, gave his opinion that the second character on the left side represented a very early form of the Roman capital A, and that the top right hand mark was like the bow and stem of an anchor.

On entering the churchyard Mr. Scott pointed out to the party an ancient stone forming part of a cross, supposed to have been erected to mark a preaching station, perhaps about the time of Augustine. It was a very fine and interesting relic of the earliest proclamation of the Christian religion in the Principality. In the large stone forming the base was clearly seen a hole about as large over as the top of a cup, where coins for the support of the preacher used to be dropped.

Before going to the inside of the church, the Rector explained that there stood, as additions to the parochial church, three private chapels belonging to well-to-do families in the neighbourhood. Two of these, however, have now been transformed into transepts of the church, and the third into a vestry. The appearance inside is, from the curious configuration, unique. When the present Rector entered upon the living, all the antiquarian relics were totally uncared for, and the place was in a tumble-down condition. The private chapel which has since been converted into a vestry, was used as a lime-house, the door being blocked up; and through a squint, which is supposed to have afforded a view of the altar, the lime used to blow about. The church has, however, by the liberality and energy of the present Rector, been brought into a suitable condition for public worship in a seemly manner. It was dedicated, remarked Mr. Scott, to St. Decu-

manus, a Pembrokeshire saint, whose well was a couple of fields distant. There is a wall-tomb ornamented with a fourteenth century canopy, over which a strangely grotesque, carved corbel has been set, representing a leering, grinning face with the corners of the mouth turned down, from one of which hangs an oak-leaf. At the side another grotesque face appears in profile. This has hitherto been called a figure of the Holy Trinity. The Sanctus-bell above the junction of the nave and the chancel, the fine stone altar with its five crosses mounted on an elaborately carved oaken table of Flemish type, parts of the old carved altar of the fourteenth century, some twelfth century tombstones with simple incised cross or floriated ornament, and an early Norman font, make up most of the interesting points of the massive and sombre church. The party were afterwards very kindly regaled with tea and other refreshments on the lawn of the Rectory garden. Mr. Scott will hereafter give a paper, it is hoped, on his church.

A hasty visit by a few of the party, under the guidance of Mr. Wright, F.S.A., then made to the fortified, Edwardian manor-house called Eastington or Jestington in early times, remarkable for its fine stone roof and a curious concrete floor, on which a geometrical pattern exists, in the chamber below, and for an exterior stone staircase of much later date, brought to a close a pleasant and profitable day.

The Evening Meeting took place in the Town Hall, by kind permission of the Mayor and Corporation of Tenby, who gave the use of the Hall for the purposes of the Congress. The Rev. G. Huntington, M.A., Vicar of Tenby, was in the chair.

A paper was read by Mr. Arthur Cope on the origin of the phrase, "Little England Beyond Wales", which has been printed at pp. 17-20. As to the presence of a population other than Welsh, further proof (and here physiology comes to the aid of archæology) may be adduced from the personal characteristics of the people. Flaxen-haired, buxom, ruddy-faced children are plentiful on the hills and at the cottage doors, grouped with their small-sized, swarthy, freckled, cunning-looking Silurian or Celtic playmates; and there are, here and there, details of domestic architecture which have been referred to Flemish art. That there are two distinct types of the peasant class is beyond question; but to fix the date of the introduction of the alien race, which may, indeed, reach to the Gaedhil times, would require a larger array of facts than has hitherto been collected.

The Rev. Chairman; Mr. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*; Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A.; Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. Laws; and Mr. H. G. Allen, Q.C., M.P., took part in the discussion which ensued.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper and to the Chairman.

(*To be continued.*)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 7 JANUARY 1885.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. LIBRARIAN, IN THE CHAIR,

The following gentlemen were duly elected Associates :

James Derham, Esq., Sneyd Park, Bristol

Fred. A. Walters, Esq., 4 Great Queen Street, Westminster.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :

To the Author, for a pamphlet "On Recent Excavations at Buckfast Abbey." By J. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A. 1884.

„ „ for "Some Account of Ancient Excavations in Well Wood and Chalk-Pit Field, West Wickham, Kent." By George Clinch. 1884.

To the Society, for "Archæologia Æliana", Part 28, vol. x, No. 2. 1884.

„ „ for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. vi, Fourth Series. April 1884.

To Miss Agnes Smith, for "The Monuments of Athens", by P. G. Kastromenos. 1884. Translated from the Greek by Miss A. Smith.

Mr. C. Lynam exhibited a photograph and cast of the inscription on the cross at Carew, near Pembroke ; also a sketch of a cross at Penally. The discussion on this exhibition was deferred to next meeting.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note from Mr. J. H. Whieldon respecting the excavations at Collingham, on the site of a Roman bridge, and laid on the table a diagram :

"I forward a tracing of general plan and elevation of the bridge. With regard to the elevation, we know the elementary timbers (shown also on large scale tracing) must have been there. Plain, rubble masonry abutments seem in keeping ; and a plain railing would also seem necessary on a permanent bridge. Any additional strengthening timbers or ornamental work would be the merest conjecture. It is

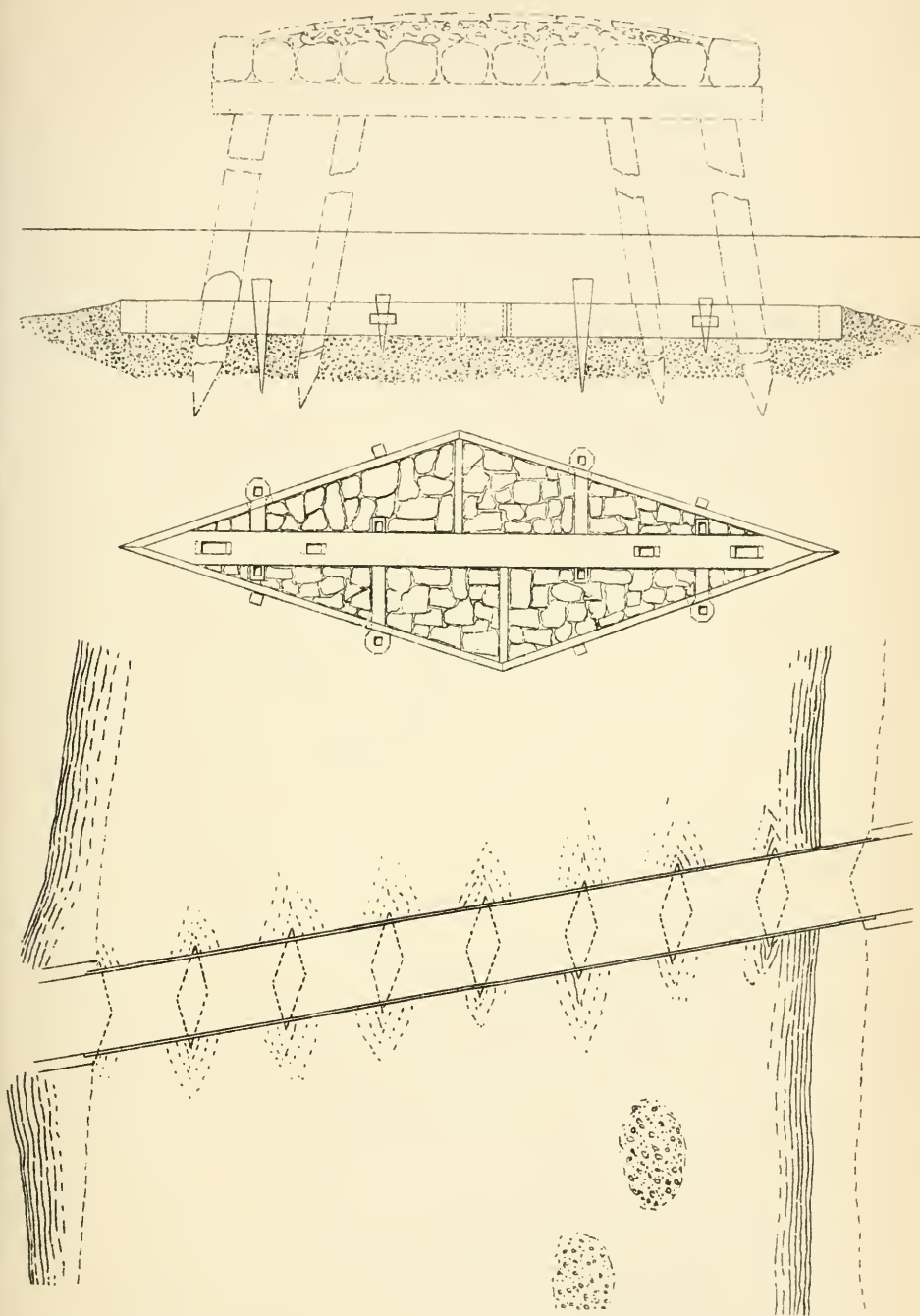
possible, as several heaps of stones have been dredged up below the bridge, that the piers may have been built of masonry, as shown in dotted lines; the wooden crib forming a foundation, and the upright timbers acting as bond-timbers. The river has deposited, for some time back, on the north bank, and scoured away on the south bank; and from the hollow in plan at B, it would appear that the abutment (if any) had been washed away, or partly carried away, perhaps for building stone. A great deal of stone similar to a portion of that used in the foundations has been worked in the walls of cottages and garden walls at Collingham. The first pier was within a few feet of the bank, seeming to show that the abutment there, or what remains of it, is buried. As our works are only carried on in the river bottom, we have not touched the banks.

"Two piers were removed. No. 3 does not exist; and I think this latter must have been removed a few years ago, when the channel was altered. If my plan is correct, the abutment and the piers, or foundations of four other piers, still remain."

The accompanying plate has been prepared from photograph, tracings, and drawings submitted to Mr. Brock by Mr. Rofe and Mr. Whieldon of the Trent Navigation Company at Nottingham. The plan of pier was made from measurements before it was blown up, and from the timbers afterwards. The dotted lines show probable elevation of bridge, the position and angle of supports being clearly indicated by morticed holes on the balks. Other piers may exist, but not in the navigable part of the river.

The span of openings between pier and pier, from centre balk to centre balk, is about 29 feet, or about the same length as the pier from end to end. The bottom portion of one of the uprights was found, measuring about 11 feet long, which indicates that the four uprights were driven into the bed of river to about that distance. In the elevation in tracing they are shown in dotted lines, and broken off. The depth they were driven to was not at first known. While the horizontal timbers forming the crib of piers were quite sound and clean inside, the vertical timbers, including only the pile above mentioned, one stump, and a few small timbers, were coal-black and rotten.

A further evidence that there may have been stone piers upon the oak crib, is the working of some of the stones. A rebate is worked on one side, which may have fitted the corner of the raking upright; and one end is narrower than the other, to work in with other masonry which would be tooled straight. Several other stones bear appearance of having a rebate on one edge. The stones could not have been worked to place in the crib, and must have formed part of a pier or buttress. From the position of this one in the stream, it must have formed part of one of the piers. The timber



ROMAN BRIDGE IN THE RIVER TRENT, NEAR NEWARK.



structure may then have been put up first, and the more permanent masonry piers afterwards; for if it had been intended to put up masonry piers at first, the raking piles would not have been necessary.

There were no nails visible in the wooden crib or piles of the Roman bridge. In one timber was noticed what appeared to be an oak trenail, but it may have been only a knot in the wood, as the crib was wedged together, as shown on the plan, and would need no nails, the wedges being driven in tight, and the structure lowered into the bed of the river. After immersion the wedges would swell, and form a very tight joint indeed. It was this peculiar method of wedging the timber together which first drew Mr. Whieldon to notice if any nails or trenails were used in the superstructure.

The Chairman notified to the meeting that he had been led to understand that the sale, by the churchwardens, of the carved sounding board and finials belonging to the church of Goathurst, co. Somerset, was under consideration. Several of the members present spoke strongly against such a proceeding.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a photograph of some details of the baluster-shafts at Jarrow Monastery.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., took part in the discussion which ensued.

The Chairman reverted to the discussion on Maundy ceremonies and Maundy money, and read letters from Mr. Bidwell and Mr. J. Taylor, Librarian to the Bristol Corporation, upon deodands.

Mr. A. Cope, Mr. C. H. Compton, and Mr. E. Walford took part in the discussion.

Mr. Birch rejected the popular derivations of Maundy from "commandment", or from "*maund*", a basket-measure; and in support of the derivation of the word from *manduco*, referred to the following passage from a charter dated A.D. 830, "in anniversario suo precepit dari pauperibus ad *manducandum* cuique panem unum et caseum aut lardum et *denarium* unum". (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 402.)

Mr. Brock exhibited a ground-plan and drawings of early grave-stones with incised crosses, and read a paper by C. Lynam, Esq., on Hulton Abbey, which has been printed above, at pp. 65-71.

Mr. T. Blashill and the Chairman took part in the discussion which followed, and the meeting closed.

WEDNESDAY, 21 JANUARY 1885.

G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. LIBRARIAN, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Report of the Council of the Art Union of London for 1884."

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", vol. x, No. 1.

To the Rev. B. D. Blucker, M.A., for "Gloucester Notes and Queries", Part xxv, January 1885.

Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited a very sharp dagger-blade of bronze, found 20 feet below the surface of a great bog at Rushin, co. Denbigh. This was in very perfect preservation. It appears to belong to a very early period. Mr. Smith also exhibited a quaintly carved ivory tobacco-grater of the sixteenth century.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited four Etruscan vases from tombs; a Samian bowl with side-handles; a porridge-pot, mediæval, of Spanish ware; and a book-cover of stamped pig-skin, of the fifteenth century. Among the ornaments of this latter object were to be noticed a fleur-de-lys in a lozenge, a shield of fanciful arms, and a border of roses.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a large collection of fragments of pottery, iron implements, etc., from recent excavations in London, from Aldgate and its locality. Among these were several portions of Roman Samian ware bowls having the following potters' names, COSMINI. O, MAXIMI, MACRIANI, VIRONI. OF, EITOR, TIBERI. M., FELICI O. A thin fragment of bone had been bored for the manufacture of beads or buttons, several of which, finished on one side only, still remained. There were also portions of Roman black ware vases, part of one of prehistoric date, and several of almost modern times, these being portions of vessels of Elers ware, and the work of Wedgwood. These were mainly derived from one site, and curious as showing the mixed character of relics from excavations in the City.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on the Cross at Carew, Pembrokeshire, communicated by Mr. C. Lynam, who sent the cast and photograph of the inscription, and water-colour views and drawings of the Cross.

In the discussion which ensued Mr. Birch referred to the unsatisfactory nature of all readings of this inscription hitherto proposed by antiquaries, and promised to lay the result of his researches before the next meeting.

Mr. G. R. Wright, Mr. A. Cope, and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, also spoke upon the archæological interest attaching to the Cross.

Mr. Brock read the following paper:

ST. MILBURGA, ABBESS OF WENLOCK.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

There is such a sameness about most of the stories of the saints of the Anglo-Saxon era, as told by the old monks, and so uncouth are

many of their names in sound, that it becomes almost wearisome to listen to their legends. And yet, from an archæological point of view, these Teutonic saints are important personages, having been connected with many a sacred site, and their names lingering in many a local tale. Fortunately, the story of St. Milburga, which we are about to consider, is a brief one, and will, therefore, be no heavy strain upon our patience.

Penda, fourth King of Mercia, had, by his Queen Cyneswith, a family of five sons and two daughters, and the names of five out of these seven children are to be found in the Calendar of Saints, viz., Ethelred, Merewald, Mercelm, Cyneburg, and Cyneswith. But it is only with St. Merewald that we have now to do, and he is only of consequence to us as the father of the lady who forms the motive of this paper. This Merewald or Merval, reigned over the West Hecanas, and had for wife Domneva, or as others say, St. Ermenburg, the niece of Ercombert, King of Kent, and became the parent of three saintly daughters, viz., Milburga, Mildryth or Mildred, and Mildgith, and one equally saintly son, Merefin, whom Florence of Worcester describes as “a youth of eminent piety”. Of Saints Mildred and Mildgith nothing more need be said on the present occasion, their good sister Milburga (or Mildberg, as her name is at times written) claiming all our devotion. This lady is believed to have entered into existence about the year 662, and is represented as being of a devout turn of mind from her early childhood. Being desirous of passing a virgin’s life, she, with the aid of her royal kindred, founded, or refounded, the Abbey of Wenlock in Shropshire, about the year 680, and was consecrated its Abbess by Archbishop Theodore, who presided over the see of Canterbury from 668 to 693. We are told that this pious princess preferred a hair shirt to soft linen, and that she was so imbued with Divine power that she not only cured divers diseases, but even raised the dead to life. Father Hierome Porter, in his *Lives of the most renowned Saints of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Douay, 1632), relates a story of St. Milburga, in which both love and miracle play a part. He says that the Abbess, being one day at Stoke, a village near Wenlock, a young gallant, son of a Shropshire Prince, “was soe taken with her beantie, that he had a vehement desire to carrie her away by force and marrie her”. The damsel fled from her admirer and his companions till she had passed the little river Corve, which then instantly swelled up and threatened destruction to her pursuers, who thereupon desisted from following her, and she returned in safety to the abbey.

As time went on St. Milburga found that the corn in the monastic fields was eaten up by wild geese which infested the neighbourhood, wherenpon she bade them to depart to other localities, which they did

at once, and hence the good Saint has been regarded as the protectress of fields, and as mistress over wild birds in general. Does the following rhyme refer to St. Milburga?

“If old dame Mil will our fields look over,
Safe will be corn, and grass, and clover.
But if the old dame has gone fast to sleep,
Woe to our corn, grass, clover, and sheep.”

Though Milburga could cure the ailments of others and resuscitate the dead, she was yet powerless to preserve her own health and life. After a long and lingering illness she breathed her last at Wenlock on Feb. 23, A.D. 722, and was interred in her favourite abbey. But death did not deprive her of the power of working miracles, which she continued to do until the glorious reformation spoiled the trade of the cunning monks and deprived the relics of St. Milburga of their assigned virtues.

It is beyond our province to follow the fortunes of Wenlock through all its trials in Saxon, Danish, and Norman times. It is enough for our purpose to note that in the year 1100 a new church for Clugniac monks was erected on the site of the old abbey, and that St. Milburga once more emerges from obscurity, and in what manner is best told in the words of William of Malmesbury (ii, 13). He says that whilst the new fane was in course of erection, a “boy running violently along the pavement, broke into the hollow of the vault, and discovered the body of the virgin; when, a balsamic odour pervading the whole church, she was taken up, and performed so many miracles, that the people flocked thither in great multitudes. Large spreading plains could hardly contain the troops of pilgrims, while rich and poor came side by side, one common faith impelling all. Nor did the event deceive their expectations; for no one departed without either a perfect cure, or considerable abatement of his malady, and some were even healed of the king’s evil, by the merits of this virgin, when medical assistance was unavailing.”

Hierome Porter relates how an afflicted woman at Patten, drinking the water in which St. Milburga’s bones had been washed, cast from her stomach “a filthie worme, ugly and horrible to behold, having six feete, two hornes on his head, and two on his tayle”; and that this “worme was shutt up in a hollow piece of wood, and reserved afterwards in the monasterie, as a trophie and monument of St. Milburg.”

The reputed remains of St. Milburga were deposited near the altar in the new church, and some of the little pewter geese occasionally exhumed in London may have been the signs sold to pilgrims who had visited her shrine.

The name of St. Milburga is not alone associated with Wenlock,





for there are churches dedicated to her at Stoke and Beebury, in Shropshire; Offenham, in Worcestershire; and Wixford, in Warwickshire. The apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) is considered sacred to St. Milburga. A goose is her emblem, and her festival is set down in the old English Calendar on Feb. 23rd.

The hand of neither sculptor nor pictor have done much to perpetuate the memory of St. Milburga. Perhaps her earliest effigies are to be seen on the Seals of Wenlock Abbey. Dugdale (*Monasticon*, v, 74) mentions one with a coarse representation of the Saint, sitting in a homely dress, with an instrument like a two-pronged fork on her right shoulder.

The late Dr. Kendrick kindly presented to me impressions of the vesica-shaped seal and round counterseal of the abbey, both of the thirteenth century. The first displays in the upper part a trefoiled canopy, beneath which is seated the virgin with infant Christ, and with a star on either side. In the lower part of the seal are two niches, the dexter occupied by a figure of St. George with the dragon at his feet; the sinister by St. Milburga, who may possibly support a bird on her left hand. The legend reads SIGILL ECCLESIE CONVENTUALIS MONACHORVM D'WENLOK. The counterseal looks of rather earlier work than the oval one. It bears the demi-figure of the abbess, holding a pastoral staff in her right hand and a closed volume in her left, the legend giving her name SANCTA MILBVRGA.

Of higher importance than the Wenlock seals, at least so far as art is concerned, is a fifteenth century picture of St. Milburga, for a tracing of which I am indebted to Mr. Watling. This tracing was made in 1849 by our friend's late brother, Mr. Edwin Watling, of Cheltenham College, the original painting being then in private possession, it is believed, at Wem, in Shropshire. The lady in this limning stands beneath a cinquefoil arch, and is habited as an abbess *in pontificalibus*, bearing in her right hand a pastoral staff, the red shaft of which has a rich golden head. The left hand grasps a portion of her black mantle, which is lined with pink. Her long gown, with loose hanging sleeves, is of a golden colour. Her chin is partly buried in the plaited barbe or neck-veil, which, like the hood or coverchief, is white. The feet are provided with black shoes, and the head surrounded by a gold nimbus. From the green sward and herbage rise on either side the Abbess a cluster of brown hills, and above them fly in opposite directions the troops of geese who had devoured the corn; and a large goose occupies a place in each spandrel of the arch. In Father Porter's *Lives of the Saints*, before referred to, is an engraving of Milburga, putting the wild geese to flight. Of these same fowl, and their banishment from Wenlock, someone has jocundly said:—

“ When Milburge drove the geese away,
 St. Michael caught the same ;
 And on September’s twenty-ninth,
 They’re cooked like other game.
 A dreadful slaughter then is made
 Of Milburge’s birds so fine ;
 But they are called St. Michael’s geese,
 By those who off them dine.”

WEDNESDAY, 4TH FEBRUARY 1885.

S. I. TUCKER, ESQ., V.P., SOMERSET HERALD, IN THE CHAIR.

Professor J. Frederick Hodgetts was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for “Archæologia Cambrensis”, 5th Series, No. 4. October 1884.

“ ” for “Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society”, vol. viii, Parts I and II, 1883-4 ; and
 “The Great Orphan Book, or Book of Wills”, edited by the Rev. T. P. Wadley, M.A.

“ ” for “Archæological Journal”, vol. xli, No. 164. 1884.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited two engraved cylinders or seals of ancient Assyria, of fine workmanship. One of them represents the combat of Izdubar with the demons of Assyrian mythology.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, referred to the Assyrian cylinders found by our Associate, Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., at Cyprus ; and Mr. Cope mentioned a jade cylinder of the same style in the British Museum.

Mr. Birch then proceeded to exhibit, on behalf of the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, V.P., F.S.A., the drawing, by Miss Lucy Crossman, of a carved slab of stone, 36 inches long, 28 inches broad, 3½ thick, found about 2 feet under ground while digging a drain at Tockington. The weight of the superincumbent earth had cracked the stone across the middle. It was discovered about 30 yards from the spot at Tockington Park Farm, where the remains of a Roman villa were discovered some years ago, and a good piece of tessellated pavement has been preserved. There were plain tiles and tesserae found near this stone ; but the digging was limited to the necessity of the case.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, drew attention to the ornamental details along the edge of the stone, which resemble, in some measure, early mediæval work ; but he thought it might possibly be of Roman origin.

Mr. Brock then exhibited, on behalf of Mr. R. E. Way, a collection of Roman remains found close to St. Saviour's Church at Southwark. Among the objects were fragments of deep blue glass, vases of globular form, red pottery from native kilns, Samian ware, bronze fibulae, bone needles, the neck and mouth of a large Rhodian amphora, and some third brass coins of Trajan, and a coin of Carausius.

Mr. Way also exhibited a small Roman lamp inscribed [FORTIS], from a recent excavation in the Minories.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., exhibited a small manuscript book of prayers of the sixteenth century, German, with stamped binding.

Mr. C. Lynam exhibited plaster-casts of two of the designs rudely sculptured on the Runic cross of slate at St. Michael's, Isle of Man : (1), a cock and some interlaced patterns ; (2), a winged figure, perhaps St. Michael.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Notes on Old Parish Registers of Clapham", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

In the discussion which took place afterwards, the Chairman, Mr. Brock, Mr. Compton, Mr. Lynam, Mr. Walford, and Mr. Way took part.

Mr. Brock read the first portion of a paper "On the Ancient Sculptured Shaft in the Parish Church at Leeds", by the Rev. G. F. Browne, M.A., and exhibited a series of rubbings and drawings in illustration of the subject. It is hoped that the paper will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 18 FEBRUARY 1885.

T. MORGAN, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

H. H. Vaughan, Esq., Upton Castle, Pembrokeshire, was duly elected an Associate.

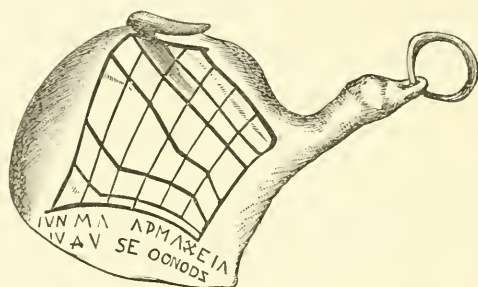
Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced that the sum of £200 had been generously contributed, by benefactors who did not wish to be named, towards the preservation from further decay of the ruins of Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire ; and that Mr. Cobb of Manorbere, whose judicious treatment of Manorbere Castle evoked much gratification from those who visited that Castle during the Tenby Congress, had undertaken to overlook the works at Carew, with a view to bringing that also into a secure and satisfactory condition, aided by the advice of Mr. Brock.

Mr. Brock stated that recent excavations west of All Hallows' Church, London-on-the-Wall, have revealed some of the fabric of the

bulwark of the Wall of London, a part of which, about 100 feet in length, and 20 feet high, is now visible.

Mr. Brock also exhibited an engraved plan of the Roman bath at Badenweiler, near Baden, as illustrating in a remarkable manner the Roman bath at Bath, upon which a paper was about to be read later in the evening.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch exhibited, on behalf of the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, V.P., F.S.A., the sketch of a bronze sundial faced with silver, in the shape of a ham, found at Herculaneum, and now preserved in the Naples Museum (No. 25,494). This drawing, which had



been sent to him by Mr. Neville Rolfe (to whom we are much indebted for the origin of our woodcut), shows, Mr. Scarth believes, the only portable sundial yet found anywhere. The hours, for the latitude of Rome, are indicated on it by lines, some of which cut each other in a remarkable manner. The tail, which projects on one side, serves as a gnomon. Beneath the lines are the first two letters of the months, thus :

ΙΥΝ . ΜΑ . ΑΡ . ΜΑ . ΦΕ . ΙΑ
ΙΥ . ΑΥ . ΣΕ . ΟΥ . ΝΟ . ΔΕ .

Mr. Howlett exhibited a Christian lamp ornamented with a cross below two palm-branches, from a Roman collection.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on the "Discoveries at the Roman Bath in Bath", and exhibited a collection of drawings, a plan, and some photographs, in illustration of the subject. It is hoped that the paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Birch, Mr. Grover, Mr. Previté, and Mr. Brock took part.

Mr. Brock read the continuation of the Rev. G. F. Browne's paper "On the Ancient Sculptured Shaft in the Parish Church at Leeds."

WEDNESDAY, 4 MARCH 1885.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the Library :

To the Bohemian Museum, Prague, for "Pamatky Archæologieke", 1884.
To Dr. A. Fryer for the translation of "The Book of Sindibad", translated from the Arabic by Dr. W. R. Clouston. Privately printed.

The Rev. Sir T. Baker, Bart., F.S.A., exhibited a very fine large ivory comb, belonging to Mr. Salkeld, about 7 by 5 inches, carved in the German style of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century style, with a tableau on each side between the teeth. On one side is a scene of ladies bathing, and a man riding a horse which draws an open carriage conveying more bathers to the bath; on the other a marriage ceremony. This is probably a wedding gift. Mr. Rylands, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Birch took part in the discussion on this fine work of art.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent for exhibition by Mr. Broek a large number of sketches of antiquities lately brought together for exhibition at Peterborough, among them some Saxon heads, the filigree head of a thimble, spoons, keys, tiles and fibulæ. Mr. Irvine also sent two baked clay wedges found in the earth in a brickyard at Woodstone, co. Hunt., with Saxon burials, and other indications of ancient occupation. These, Mr. Irvine suggested, might have been employed as wedges or bolts, to be set in flanks used for ancient gates in the Roman period, so as to keep them in position.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen exhibited rubbings of the broken shaft of a fine Saxon cross, and a small fragment of sculptured stone of the same character, in Colsterworth Church, Lincolnshire. The broken cross-shaft is 2 ft. 2 ins. long; 1 ft. 5 ins. by 10 ins. at the base, tapering to 1 ft. 3 ins. by 8 ins. at the top. The other stone is 1 ft. 6 ins. long, by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 6 ins., but is in too mutilated a state for any theory as to its use to be formed. The ornament on the broken cross-shaft consists of knotwork on one of the broad faces and foliaceous scrollwork on the other. The edges have simple plaits of four bands carved upon them. Mr. Allen also gave a brief description of the old font in Colsterworth Church, which is interesting, both on account of the sculptures upon it, and also as being the one in which Sir Isaac Newton was baptized. This font is octagonal, each face measuring $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide by 1 ft. 4 ins. high. One face has the Agnus Dei upon it, and another the head of our Lord within the vesica. The remaining faces are ornamented with Norman arcading enclosing Early English foliage. The old font has suffered mutilation at the hands of a restoring architect, who has inserted modern carved stone in several of the faces, and has used it to form the base of a new font of his own design. There is built into the walls of the church a stone sundial, resembling those of Saxon work, which is supposed to have been made by Sir Isaac Newton.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited a drawing of a leaden bulla of Pope Gregory XI, and read the following:—

NOTES ON BLAKENEY, OR SNITERLEY, CO. NORFOLK.

BY T. PROCTOR BURROUGHS, ESQ., F.S.A.

Herewith I forward the drawing of a relic found at Blakeney, or Sniterley, on the east coast of Norfolk, a site four miles and a half from Wells, and one mile north-west of Cley in the Walsingham Union. Snet or Sneyt is an obsolete-name for rivers or streams of water, from which several towns take their names,—thus, Snetterton in Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and Sneton in Yorkshire. The family of De Vaux was enfeoffed of this manor, from whom it came to Lord Ross, and so to the Barfords.

The principal lordship was held by Edric, a freeman of Harold, and granted by the Conqueror to William de Beaufor, Bishop of Thetford, to be held by him as a lay fee in his own right; which Bishop gave it and many other lordships in fee, and to be enjoyed by his successors. The name of Blakeney is first found in the reign of Edward III. In ancient days it was much frequented by the German merchants. In the 14th of Edward I an action was brought against Thomas Bargeys for losing a ship laden with cloth, which drove ashore, the value being £14,000.

The church is very spacious, both in length and breadth, containing a nave, two aisles, and chancel—all built of stone—with a stately large and lofty tower, which serves as a famous sea-mark. The chancel roof is curiously vaulted with freestone and covered with lead. At the north-east corner of the chancel is a lofty turret, which was formerly a fire beacon. On the north buttress of the tower is a carved shield—three mitres, the lowest enfiled with a pastoral staff, probably for the see of Norwich; and on the south buttress a cross; under that a dolphin embowed in a bordure of escallops. The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas.

In the 21st Edward I, John Stonner and Thomas Tholer, copyhold tenants of William de Roos, lord of the town, and Maud his wife, did fealty for lands and tenements they held of him here and in Cley; and after, they gave part of this land (13½ acres) to God and the Virgin Mary, that the Carmelite friars, by the king's licence and that of Sir Wm. Roos, might inhabit therein for ever, and might build a chapel and other necessary buildings thereon; the said friars being bound to pray, on pain of excommunication, for the good estate of the said Sir William Roos and his lady Maud, these giving 100 marks to build their church and houses, and promise to build their hall, with kitchen and chambers, with liberty of free entrance, Sir William and his heirs repairing the same. The building was finished A.D. 1321.

This seems to be the most correct history attaching to this convent,

in the wall of which lately the leaden bulla of Gregory XI was found to have been embedded; the parchment to which it was originally attached having mouldered away, leaving nothing but the seal to speak for itself. It is, of course, rude in production. The obverse bears the effigies of SS. Paul and Peter, and the S P A S P E are contractions for "Sanctus Paulus, Sanctus Petrus", the cross being the usual ecclesiastical emblem. The reverse reads, GREGORIUS . PP XI. Pope Gregory the Eleventh was Pontiff A.D. 1370, which tallies pretty well with the foundation of the Convent, finished A.D. 1321, and doubtless consecrated in 1370.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a *denarius* of Tiberius and a silver coin of the Triumvirate, found in Southwark.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., exhibited an old print of Oxford, showing the crossing at Carfax in the High Street, and made some remarks on it.

Mr. A. Cope exhibited drawings of the ancient cross at Dunblane, and of the large shaft at Penally, and gave a short description of them.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited, for the Rev. Preb. H. M. Searth, V.P., F.S.A., the drawing of a sculptured stone which Mr. W. Thompson Watkin of Liverpool informed him had been preserved for a century in the garden of an old house at Chester, with a brass plate on the top stating that it was one of the piles of a hypocaust found in that city in 1779. The difficulty of reconciling this origin with the details of the sculpture is very great. The plinth is rectangular, the column octagonal, with rude indications of a capital. The three faces shown in the drawing contain, (1), four complete and two half-lozenges, with interior lineation; (2), two small square panels alternating with two half-panels, with a rosette or half-rosette in each respectively; (3), four small square panels bearing a heart, a fleur-de-lys, a lyre-shaped object, and a quatrefoil.

Mr. Brock read the concluding part of the Rev. G. F. Browne's paper on the sculptured cross in Leeds Church.

Mr. J. R. Allen bore testimony to the interest of the cross, and its great historical value in the group of ancient sculptured crosses of Britain.

Mr. Birch read a paper on "Ancient Documents relating to Pembrokeshire", by E. J. L. Scott, Esq., M.A., Assistant Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. This paper, which had been originally intended for reading before the Congress at Tenby, will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

The Rev. Sir Talbot Baker, Bart., and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Brock read a paper entitled "The Signs of the Old Traders in Paternoster Row", by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot. It will be printed, we hope, in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Rylands and the Chairman made some remarks on the subject, and the meeting was thus concluded.

WEDNESDAY, 18 MARCH 1885.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

Mrs. Archie Bullard, The Laurels, Town Close, Norwich
 Claude Hurst Peter, Esq., Town Clerk of Launceston, Northern-
 haye, Launceston
 John Thompson, Esq., Lindens, Peterborough.

Mr. E. Walford, M.A., exhibited a large engraving of the "Battle of the Boyne", by Theodore Maas of Haarlem, *b.* 1676, *d.* 1715.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a Greco-Etruscan two-handled amphora of black ware with pale red figures.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a white zoned chalcedony cylinder from Assyria, with an engraved subject, a lion between two priests, and two lines of ancient characters containing the name of the owner. Also an armlet of three polished agates or sards engraved with Arabic sentences, and set in silver.

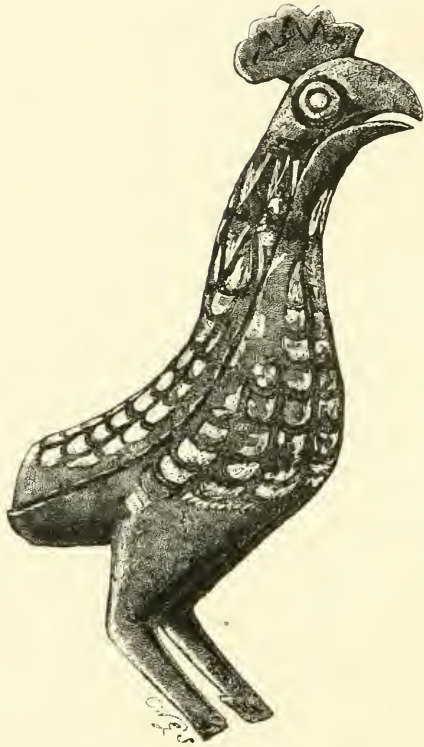
The Chairman exhibited a large collection of miscellaneous objects from recent London excavations, and read the following notes on them:—

"I have the honour to exhibit this evening a Samian patera, diameter, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, found in Eastcheap, stamped with maker's name, MOM.....; also a Romano-Etruscan wine-flask, 7 ins. in height, of rare fabric and occurrence. The paste is thin, rufous red, polished, resembling some specimens of fictilia found at Colchester. The vase is capped or formed with the head of a goddess, perhaps intended for Ariadne; the hair pushed off the forehead, turned up broadly and straightly at the back, ornamented in front by depressions resembling ivy-leaves. It is an example of good, and perhaps even ancient, antiquarian taste. The vase was found in London proper.

"I exhibit with this, for the sake of transmitted form, an alabaster flower-vase of the seventeenth century, sculptured in Italy, and probably in Rome; globular, of the same size and height, with a capped and bearded head attached to the fluted body of the vase. The resemblance of outline, and almost unity of thought in design, appear in a striking degree. This latter vase was picked up by me in a massive stone chest, in the Cowgate, in an early morning exploration last summer.

"I also show a sculptured cup of solid silver, with rim and foot, 1 in. diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; exhumed, with Upchurch urns and bones,





ROMAN FIGHTING COCK FOUND IN LONDON.
Enamelled Bronze.

Height $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

from the Roman cemetery, Spitalfields, July 1884, when other remains of a later period were found nearer the surface, giving place for a question whether the object may be of Roman or later date. If Roman, as may be well assumed, it may probably have been used as an *unguentarium*, perhaps for colouring the eyelids.

"I am also enabled to lay before the meeting a unique specimen of Roman enamelled bronze, found in London with an armilla. The accompanying illustration, from the pencil of our draughtsman, Mr. W. G. Smith, though giving the form, does not adequately convey the silvery and green tints of the original. This enamel, in the form of a fighting cock, was cast in two sections; the lower, with the legs, appears to have been attached to a bar or some kind of base; but the plumed or cut tail is altogether wanting; nor is there any trace of probable attachment. The relic appears perfect. Our Vice-President, Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A., has kindly, on inspection, fixed its date, A.D. 117, or during the reign of Hadrian, the sculptured cavities and character of the enamel assisting in defining its age. The general tint is greenish grey; but the iris retains a bright gold, and the comb traces of red."

Mr. Walford, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., read a paper on "Ancient Navigation in the Indian Ocean", by the Rev. J. D. Edkins, D.D., of Peking. This evoked considerable discussion, in which Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. Walford, and Mr. Wright took part.

Mr. Brock read the following note from Mr. J. T. Irvine in correction of his former description of clay wedges exhibited at the last meeting:

"Since the sending up of the singular wedge-shaped bricks found at Woodstone Brickyard (March 1885), I have seen a large collection of remains of singular interest found in a barrow near Croyland, obtained during its removal by Mr. E. S. Canham of Croyland; and I have also seen a copy of a paper relating to the same, read by him before the Peterborough Natural History Society. He describes it as one of a number near Croyland, and that it must have been originally about 4 feet high. Round it was a ditch from 2 to 3 feet deep, and 12 feet wide. Several urns were found, abundance of pottery, fragments of the rudest description, an immense collection of flint objects, scrapers, arrow-heads, and prehistoric weapons in flint. But with them were the peculiar, harrow-tine like objects, similar to those exhibited the other day, which were in abundance. If they had been collected there would have been a wheelbarrow-load of them. Unless they were used both as furnace-bars and rests for burning other pottery on, I cannot conceive their utility, nor have I been able to obtain any further information as to their use.

“The above mentioned wedge-shaped bricks found by Mr. Canham are, so far as the specimens sent to Peterborough went, smaller than the Woodstone specimens, of softer clay, and of a redder colour. The so called prehistoric flint implements found with them were all broken, but were evidently objects intended for the same use, only split out of flint. The name of harrow-tines, or harrow-teeth, given to the brick objects by Mr. Canham, unquestionably was their actual purpose. On reading his paper, the primitive harrows of three bars of wood, still used in the Shetland Islands, with their thick *wooden* teeth, were brought to my memory, some as nearly as possible the same size as these brick specimens from Croyland, though not so large as the Woodstone relics. The flint specimens are evidently a similar but ruder or rougher and stronger class, and must have been kept down in their position precisely as (my mother reminds me) used to be the case in Shetland with the larger wooden teeth, by fastening over them a piece of flat straw ‘cashie’.

“On going over Mr. Canham’s paper I am quite satisfied my own view was a mistaken one, and that his explanation is the true solution of the question. It is a pity that this curious find, which throws so much clear light on ‘prehistoric’ (?) objects, should not be properly described and illustrated. As the Woodstone tines precisely resemble in texture Dutch clinkers, is it possible that when Britain exported chalk to Holland, in those early days they may in return have sent across Dutch clinker harrow-teeth?”

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Discovery of a Tessellated Pavement at the Mineral Water Hospital, Bath.—Excavations have recently been going on in the premises of the Mineral Water Hospital, adjoining Bridewell Lane, Bath, where it is proposed to erect additions to the structure. During the progress of the work, a portion of a fine tessellated pavement was discovered. The work of uncovering was proceeded with most carefully, and a few yards are now visible from the hospital premises. The pavement appears beneath the boundary wall separating the Hospital grounds from Bridewell Lane, and up to the present it is not known how far it may extend. At length, however, permission was given by the Surveying Committee to the Committee of the Hospital to excavate beneath the lane, with a view to determining the limits of the pavement. This will accordingly be done, and archæologists will

watch with interest the progress of the work. The Committee of the Hospital have not yet decided upon the steps to be taken when the pavement is entirely uncovered, but suggestions have already been made as to its disposal, and it appears probable that it will be laid inside the Mineral Water Hospital. Messrs. Browne and Gill, the architects of the new building, state that the pavement, as now seen, is an irregular fragment about 6 feet in length and breadth. The pattern is composed of octagons, about 2 feet 7 inches each way, the intermediate spaces being filled in with squares. In the centre of each octagon is a double quatrefoil with a circle in the centre, and there are pointed leaves at each angle. The pattern is formed of small tesserae from half to three-quarters of an inch square, and the colours are red, white, blue, and black. On one side of the tessellated pavement is a broad margin made of Roman tiles about 6 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, laid herring-bone fashion. There can be no doubt, from the size and proportions of the portion discovered, that it forms part of a large pavement. Many years ago two other pavements were discovered in the Mineral Water Hospital and Blue Coat School, and this fact would tend to prove that upon the site of those institutions in the Upper Borough Walls some large and important building must have stood in former years. The pavement now discovered is richer in pattern, and of finer work than the others.

Yarmouth Tol-house.—Interesting discoveries have just been made at the Tol-house, Great Yarmouth, formerly the meeting-hall and common prison of that borough, and alluded to recently in the *Journal*. The fabric dates from the early part of the thirteenth century, and has an external staircase leading to an open porch on the first floor, from which election addresses were delivered. The work of repair was entrusted to Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., acting in conjunction with Messrs. Bottle and Olley, of Yarmouth. During the stripping of the roughcast and cement which have covered the old walls for many years, a fine series of small moulded arches has been found below the windows of the open porch. These rest on corbels, and are of much beauty. Below these, the arch, which formerly gave light and air to the common hall, has been revealed, and the form of the old windows of the hall has been recovered. The fine timber roof of the hall has been repaired and opened to view, and it is proposed to fill the windows with stained glass containing the arms of the principal local families.

Proposed Restoration of the Ancient Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield.—The church was built for the Black Canons of St. Augustine by Prior Rahere, at the beginning of the

twelfth century, no building having existed there before his time. A Saxon church is, indeed, thought to have once occupied the same site, but there seems to be no authority for the statement. The greater part of the remains are of Rahere's time, and were finished in 1123, about coeval with the naves of Durham, Peterborough, and Norwich Cathedrals. The present church was only the choir of Rahere's, the nave having been built at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in a later style of architecture. This was pulled down in Henry VIII's time, and few remains of it exist; there is, however, the present very beautiful entrance from Smithfield. Large repairs seem to have been done by Prior Bolton, 1506-1532. Queen Mary gave the building to the Black Friars, who began to rebuild the nave, but were dispossessed by Queen Elizabeth; no trace of their work is, however, apparent. Great alterations and repairs seem to have been effected from 1622 to 1628, at which last date the "Steeple", part of stone and part of timber, "was pulled down to foundation and rebuilt of brick." The original church was 280 feet long and 60 feet wide, with apse, transepts, choir, and nave; and having also cloisters, prior's house, refectory, chapter-house, and other usual adjuncts to a conventual church, forming, when complete, a very splendid monument of the piety and architectural skill of our forefathers.

At the present time there are no funds for the preservation of the church. The following facts, however, show that they are urgently needed.

The apse at the present time is occupied by a fringe manufactory which projects 20 feet over the east end of the church, and is actually overhanging the altar. It is supported by four iron columns within the altar rails, and constitutes a desecration, great disfigurement, and imminent danger to the whole church from fire. The site of the north transept is at present occupied by a blacksmith's forge and dwelling house. Besides being a desecration, this is a source of perpetual disturbance during week-day services, and likewise a most serious source of danger from fire. The north triforium is occupied by the Parochial Boys' School, and the site of the chapter-house by the girls' and infants' schools. The sound from the former is heard so plainly in the church, as actually to prevent services being conducted during school hours. The fringe manufactory which projects into the east end of the church, contains remains of the original walls of what was the Lady Chapel; the crypt of which is still extant, half filled with soil. It occupies a site, together with the enclosures, of 5,300 superficial feet, in addition to the 1,290 superficial feet which project into the church. An opportunity has unexpectedly presented itself of acquiring these premises, which have been valued, as a building site, at over £8,000; but the freeholder has agreed to sell them to the

parish for the sum of £6,500. It is of paramount importance that the present opportunity of acquiring these premises should not be allowed to slip. If not now secured, the Lady Chapel walls will be destroyed, the whole site covered with warehouses, and the portion overhanging the altar must remain as at present. The blacksmith's forge, in the north transept, has been already purchased by some parishioners in trust for the parish, to whom it will be transferred if the necessary funds can be raised. The patron has given £1,500 towards the restoration of the apse, and £650 for the portion overhanging the altar, conditionally upon the fringe manufactory being purchased.

A restoration committee is being formed, which will act under the best professional advice, and care will be taken that the restoration shall in no wise interfere with the character of the church as an historical monument, bearing, as it does, every chronological indication of its past history.

The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of Bedford; the Dean of St. Paul's; the Dean of Exeter; the Dean of Windsor; Lord Charles Bruce, M.P.; Colonel Makins, M.P.; T. W. Boord, Esq., M.P.; F. D. Dixon-Hartland, Esq., M.P.; and others, have already consented to join the committee.

Subscriptions, or promises of such, are earnestly requested, and will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the hon. treasurer, F. D. Dixon-Hartland, Esq., M.P., West Smithfield, or by the Rev. W. Panckridge, M.A., Vicar.

Gainsborough Castle: Legendary, Historic, and Romantic.—Mr. H. E. SMITH, author of *Reliquiæ Isuriane*, etc., proposes to publish a work thus entitled, by subscription. This monograph is intended to constitute a complete *fasciculus* of all that is known to have been written upon the subject in any way worthy of preservation. The work, in quarto, will be embellished with numerous platinotype reproductions from the best old engravings, and also from photographs of these picturesque ruins. The descriptive essay upon the remains, by Mr. G. T. Clark—reprinted by permission of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association, from the current volume of its *Journal*—will be accompanied by the superior woodcut plans and illustrations, ably made from actual survey by Mr. A. S. Ellis, of London. Subscriptions, price 15s. (after issue, one guinea), should be sent to H. E. Smith, Holgate Head, Bell Busk, Leeds.

The Worcester Congress of the British Archæological Association.—In the library of the late Mr. Alfred John Dunkin has been discovered a few remaining copies of his "Report" of the Worcester Congress, which are offered at 18s. 6d. per volume. This "Report" is essential towards a history of the earlier years of the Association.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, in his *Retrospections*, observes, "It is a valuable collection containing much that is not given in the *Journal*." There are also a few copies of "Selections from the Canterbury Congress" at 5s. each. Copies may be had on application to Miss Dunkin, The Caxtons, Highfield Rise, Dartford, Kent.

Memorials of the City of Winchester ; or a Collection of Records illustrative of its Municipal History.—A joint Committee of the Corporation and citizens having decided to perpetuate the seven hundredth anniversary of the mayoralty of the city of Winchester by the publication of the ancient charters and other records illustrative of the early history of the city and Corporation, including facsimiles of some of the earliest charters and other documents of interest and importance, the Worshipful the Mayor of Winchester, the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, the Very Rev. Dean Bramston, B.D., the Rev. the Warden of Winchester College, the Rev. the Head Master of Winchester College, the Rev. the Master of St. Cross; and others, were appointed as a Committee for the purpose.

It is proposed that the book shall be published in royal octavo, uniformly with *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. It will contain, besides copies of the muniments in the possession of the Corporation, transcripts of the *Liber de Winton* (being two returns, taken on oath, relating to the property in the city of Winchester in 1110 and 1148, known as *The Winchester Domesday Book*), of records preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester and of Winchester College, as well as documents from public and private collections. The work will be edited by F. J. Baigent, Esq., many years member of this Association. The price to subscribers to the Commemoration Fund, or donors to the Special Fund, will be 21s., and to non-subscribers 30s. The expenses of transcripts, revision, collation, and editing, also of engraving the facsimiles, will be necessarily heavy. Donations to the Special Fund will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, T. Stopher, Esq., Mayor, the Guildhall, Winchester.

A Book of Knights Banneret, Knights of the Bath, and Knights Bachelor, made between the fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI and the Restoration of King Charles II; with the arms of those given by Glover in Cotton MS., Claudius C. iii, from Henry VII to 28 Elizabeth; together with knights made in Ireland between the years 1566 and 1698; the whole taken from MSS. in the Cottonian, Harleian, and Lansdowne Collections, and other authentic sources, and forming a convenient companion to Le Neve's *Knights*, already published by the

Harleian Society, by WALTER G. METCALFE, F.S.A., is nearly completed, and to be ready by the 1st of May 1885; uniform in size with the Harleian Society's publications. Price to subscribers before the 1st of April 1885, 21s. As the number printed is very limited, early applications, to ensure copies, should be made to Messrs. Mitchell and Hughes, 140 Wardour Street, London, W.

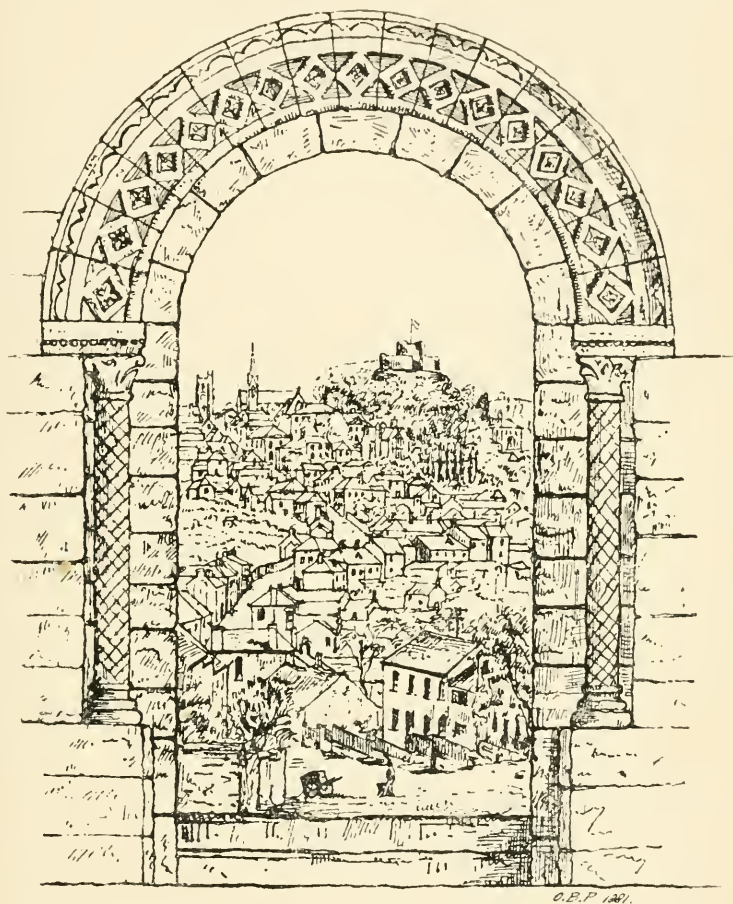
The Sepulchral Slabs, Grave-Covers, Headstone-Crosses, and Semi-Effigial Monuments of the Middle Ages, now remaining in the County of Durham. By CHARLES CLEMENT HODGES, architect. To be completed in six Parts, which will be published at intervals of not more than two months. Size, imperial octavo. Each Part will contain twenty plates, reproduced by the photo-lithographic process, from original drawings all made on the spot specially for this work, and which include sketches of the whole of the sepulchral slabs, etc., numbering about three hundred examples, in the county, all drawn to the uniform scale of one-twelfth real size. Price of Parts I to V, 5s. 6d. each; and of Part VI, containing the letterpress, 7s. 6d. The letterpress will include a catalogue of all the monumental effigies, brasses, and churchyard crosses in the county. Part I is now ready, and contains—Auckland, St. Andrew, two plates; Auckland, St. Helen, one plate; Aycliffe, four plates; Barnard Castle, three plates; Billingham, two plates; Bishop Middleham, four plates; Bishopton, one plate; Brancepeth, three plates. To be had only of the author, C. C. Hodges, Hexham. This work will be immediately followed by a companion volume on the sepulchral slabs, etc., in Northumberland.

Archæology in Rome.—A fine bronze statue of Hercules, in a perfect state of preservation, excepting a clean fracture across the legs, has been discovered in the course of the works connected with the building of a new theatre in the Via Nazionale, Rome, immediately adjoining the gardens of the Colonna Palace. It is, therefore, probable that it belonged either to the Baths of Constantine or to Hadrian's Temple of the Sun, which stood near each other at that corner of the Quirinal Hill. The statue measures upwards of 6 feet in height, and considering how very few of the many bronze statues which ornamented the ancient city of Rome have been found, its recovery constitutes an artistic and archæological event of the highest interest.

The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved, in the County of Cornwall. By RICHARD PETER, Town Clerk of Launceston, and his son, OTHO B. PETER, A.R.I.B.A. (Brendon and Son, Plymouth.)—Our Associates, Mr. Peter and his son, Mr. O. B. Peter, have rendered conscientious and untiring service to the cause of local archæology by the prepara-

tion of this handy volume upon the antiquities of Launceston and Dunheved, never heretofore written of except in the general and too often perfunctory manner common to most county historians. In these days of enlightened research, when it is manifested to the mind that it is better to write the history of a single town in a thoroughly exhaustive way than to fill a folio with a literary farrago of stale scraps of county history, there will be few found to grudge these authors their well deserved meed of praise for the painstaking this work has cost them. The treatise is rather a series of histories than a single history. The Priory of St. Stephen, Launceston, with its elegant Norman arch still standing, and early twelfth century seal showing the form of the church (subordinated, no doubt, in some measure to conventional art-feeling), of which we are able to give an illustration; the Leper Hospital of St. Leonard; the borough of Dunheved with its municipal and territorial rights, its Castle (of which several illustrations are given) and Town Wall, its Guildhall, Assize Hall, and Gaol; its badges of office; its ancient seal with an embattled castle front of the twelfth century (see Plate); its representatives in Parliament and its mayors; the Chapels of the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene, with its tower, and St. John the Baptist; the Grammar School and its affiliated house at Week St. Mary; Dunheved College; the borough of Newport and its parliamentary representatives, with, incidentally, the parish of St. Stephen; Horwell's School; the Parish Church of St. Thomas the Apostle; and the Nonconformist Chapels, are separately traced in chronological order from their several origins to the present day.

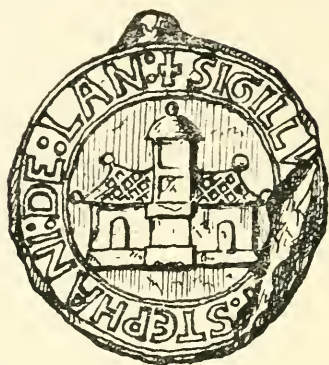
The authors tell us they have related, from contemporaneous documents, some local act or event of almost every decade within the last eight hundred years; and the history of Launceston is so bound up with that of Cornwall, or rather that of England generally, that a perusal of the work will not fail to reward those who prefer general to local history. The early deeds (of which the translations only are given) would, perhaps, have been better printed with their Latin originals in juxtaposition; and lists of the rectors and vicars of the churches would have been acceptable, but probably little is known of them. The extracts from accounts, which throw light on the manners and customs of the period they date from, are quaint, and often difficult of explanation, so many expressions then common having now become obsolete. The method of grouping subjects together has been judiciously carried out, and the *Histories of Launceston and Dunheved* may fairly claim to rank in a high class among works devoted to local history and traditions. Its convenient form will, no doubt, cause it to be more widely read than the unwieldy books which former years have produced, containing the raw material from which the present has been carefully collected and derived.



NORMAN ARCH OF LAUNCESTON PRIORY, WITH DISTANT VIEW
OF THE TOWN.

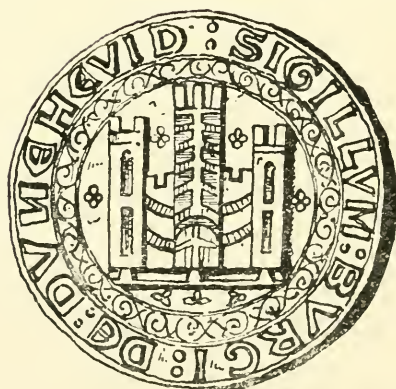






SEAL OF ST. STEPHEN'S PRIORY, LAUNCESTON.

XIIth Century.



SEAL OF THE BOROUGH OF DUNHEVED.

XIIth Century.

The Antiquary's Library. Second Series. (Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row.)—The publication of the second issue of this series of works is of exceptional interest to antiquaries and those who devote themselves to the study of subjects bearing on the history, legends, and customs of the past. The following are the three works which are comprised in the second set of volumes now published :—

1. "Coins and Medals: their Place in History and Art." By some of the authors of the British Museum Coin Catalogues. Edited by S. Lane Poole. The various chapters are written as follows :—On the Study of Coins, by R. S. Poole, LL.D.; Greek Coins, by B. V.*Head, M.R.A.S.; Roman Coins, by H. A. Grueber; the Coinage of Christian Europe, and English Coins, by C. F. Keary, M.A., F.S.A.; Early Oriental Coins, by Prof. P. Gardner, D.L., F.S.A.; Mohammedan Coins, by S. L. Poole, B.A., M.R.A.S.; Indian Coins, by Prof. Gardner and Mr. Poole; Coins of the Far East, by Prof. Terrien de la Couperie, M.R.A.S.; Medals, by W. Wroth. The volume is illustrated by numerous examples of rare and representative coins, and a careful index is added. This work, notwithstanding its popular style, will be useful for reference by collectors, as well as attractive to those who are interested in the subject of numismatics as illustrating history and art. Some portions of this volume have appeared in *The Antiquary*, but have been either rewritten or revised and enlarged, and several new chapters have been added to complete the subjects.

The value of the book would have been much increased by the addition of a select bibliography of works recommended to the students of the several sections into which the editor has divided the subject. The notice of the early British coinage is very short, and no reference is made to the discoveries of the late Mr. Kell and of Dr. Birch in that branch of numismatics.

2. "The Life of King Harold: a Mediæval Romance." With Introduction and Notes by W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum. This is a reprint (with English translation) of the unique Latin MS. in the British Museum, written shortly after the year 1200. On it have been founded the traditions concerning the escape of Harold after the battle of Hastings, and his subsequent adventures; the long current belief of the return of Harold among the Saxons being based on this narrative. A study of the work will be found useful as throwing light upon this curious episode in English history.

3. "Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients." By the Rev. M. G. Watkins, M.A. This is a readable volume on natural history as understood by the ancients. It contains chapters on various topics in natural history which have been treated of by classic and other early writers. Besides much quaint information gleaned from numerous sources, curious extracts from ancient authors are given,

showing the extent of the knowledge possessed at the period in which each wrote: much fresh information which has not been printed before is given in the volume, and the whole is arranged in a way not before attempted, its classified form making it particularly useful. To those who are interested in the more popular reading on the subject it will form an entertaining volume. The following are the subjects treated of,—Greek and Roman dogs, the cat, owls, elephants, gardens, the Romans as acclimatisers, Virgil as an ornithologist, a Homeric bestiary, antiquarian notes on the British dog, pygmies, the horse, and lastly, hunting among the ancients.

The absence of any index to this volume will be much regretted, because it contains a large amount of extracts and notices never before brought together in so readable and elegant a manner. The author, however, does not appear to have devoted much time to the examination of the Anglo-Saxon and mediæval bestiaries, nor to the spirited representations of animals on the Egyptian tomb-walls and Assyrian bas-reliefs. Papers on these two latter subjects will be found in recent issues of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

Mr. Stock may be congratulated on the conception of *The Antiquary's Library*. If the issue be maintained, and the volumes prove as acceptable as the six already published, he will have provided a great treat to the world of antiquarian literature.

Monkton Priory Church, Pembroke, is one of the most interesting of all the Pembrokeshire churches. It consisted originally of a nave and monks' choir, both in a line, with a wall partitioning the two. The nave is a long "barrel", peculiar to Pembroke churches, exceedingly plain in the interior, having three windows in the south wall, and one, very small, in the north wall near the pulpit, exactly in the centre of the wall, which is 6 feet 3 inches thick. There are steps near the entrance south door, leading through the wall, and opening into the porch, evidently giving access at one time to a room or gallery, and a recess in the north wall, wherein were found human remains, probably of an ecclesiastic. The interior of the nave which, three years ago, was in the most wretched condition, has been restored. The monks' choir is picturesque, but it stands also as a protest against the neglect of past generations, that it has been allowed to remain in such a neglected condition, and to be used as a "tennis" court. This scandal has, however, been removed. The choir has on the south four windows, and what must have formerly been an exceedingly beautiful east window. The dressed stone of the sedilia, for three seats, has completely disappeared. Before the dissolution, this choir must have been very handsome and imposing. To the north, and running parallel with the choir is, what is presumably supposed to be, a chapel,

but in a very dilapidated condition, and still further to the north, there was formerly a most curious and interesting building, the Monks' House, called still the "Monkey House". This, much to the regret of everyone, was pulled down to the ground some forty years ago, but the foundations can still be traced. The communication between the choir and the nave was by means of a "barrel passage", 9 to 10 feet high, running parallel with the building, and entering the nave a little to the east of the small window previously mentioned. Our President, the Bishop of St. David's, has accepted the plans for reparation and restoration of the choir as a chancel, drawn up by Mr. J. Pritchard of Llandaff, and the Rev. D. Bowen, M.A., vicar of Monkton, Pembroke, will be glad to receive subscriptions towards this laudable and necessary object. We can justly say that the true aim of this Society, in promoting the preservation of ancient monastic buildings, was never directed towards a more worthy case.

The Tombs, Monuments, and Sepulchral Inscriptions visible in St. Paul's Cathedral and the Parish Church of St. Faith underneath it, previous to its Destruction by Fire, A.D. 1666. By Major PAYNE FISHER, B.A., Magdalen Coll., Cambridge, Poet Laureate to Oliver Cromwell.—It is intended to reprint this work, which gives a copy in Latin and English of each description then visible, to the memory of sovereigns, prelates, noblemen, statesmen, etc., interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the parish of St. Faith underneath, from the earliest times to the occupation and partial destruction of the Cathedral by Parliamentary soldiers in 1645, and to its subsequent complete destruction by fire in 1666. It also contains several quaint and valuable inscriptions found upon the coffins which were disinterred after the fire, and of which there is no other record. The Latin inscriptions are translated into English, and the whole is accompanied with interesting historical narratives of the families commemorated. The work will be carefully edited and indexed, and a biographical notice of the author, who died in 1693, will be given.

Also by the same author:—*The Catalogue of the most Memorable Persons who had visible Tombs, plated Gravestones, Escutcheons, or Hatchments, in the City of London, before the last dreadful Fire.* London, 1668.—This catalogue, which will be indexed and reprinted, gives the name of each person commemorated in inscriptions in the churches of London before their destruction by fire in 1666. It forms a valuable companion volume to *The Tombs of St. Paul's*.

It is also intended to reprint—*The True Report of the Burnying of the Steple and Church of Paules in London, 1561.*—This is printed in black letter, and contains an interesting account of the destruction of the steeple of St. Paul's Cathedral by fire in 1561. These works,

which are extremely rare, will be reprinted in facsimile on Whatman's paper, bound in white parchment covers, and will be issued to subscribers as follows:—I. *The Tombs of St. Paul's*, 1666 (demy 4to., about 180 pages), price 12s. 6d. each, post free; II. *The Catalogue of Memorable Persons*, 1668 (demy 4to., about 80 pages), price 8s. 6d. each, post free; III. *The True Report of the Burning of St. Paul's*, 1561 (foolscap 8vo., 16 pages), price 3s. 6d. each, post free. A few copies of I and II will also be printed on ordinary paper, bound in paper covers, for those subscribers who prefer a cheaper edition, price (I) 9s. 6d. and (II) 6s. 6d. each, post free. Interleaved for notes, etc., 1s. each extra. One hundred copies of each of these works will be printed, for which early application should be made.

The Public and Private Libraries of Glasgow, by THOMAS MASON, Librarian of Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library, Glasgow. Will shortly be published in one volume, demy 8vo., containing about 400 pages. Price to subscribers, 12s. 6d. The work is devoted to matters relating to rare and valuable books, and contains full descriptions of sixteen of the principal public and private libraries of Glasgow.—Among the public libraries are the Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library, founded in 1791, by Walter Stirling (with which is amalgamated the Glasgow Public Library), possessing many rare works; the Mitchell Library, founded by Stephen Mitchell, in 1874, containing 56,000 volumes, including the large Burns collection, and collections of works of Scottish Poetry, Topography, and History; Glasgow Books, and early Glasgow Printing; and the Euing Musical Library, one of the most valuable musical libraries in existence, collected by the late William Euing during a long lifetime, and bequeathed by him to Anderson's University. The private libraries include most of the best private collections in the city. That belonging to J. W. Guild, Esq., is distinguished by a collection of works on Mary, Queen of Scots, many editions of Shakespeare, and 1,000 volumes and pamphlets of Shakespeariana. It is also rich in works on art, first editions, and autographs. The Library of A. Young, Esq., is remarkable for its first editions of the early English dramatists, and for first editions of works of history and general literature. The Libraries of George Gray, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for Lanarkshire at Glasgow, Town-Clerk of Rutherglen; Alexander Macdonald, Esq.; James Barclay Murdoch, Esq.; Matthew Shields, Esq., Secretary, Glasgow Stock Exchange, are rich in rare and valuable works relating to Scotland as a whole, and to Glasgow in particular.

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JUNE 1885.

NOTES ON THE PLACE-NAMES IN PEMBROKE-SHIRE,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF ITS HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY.

BY SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.

(Read at the Tenby Congress.)

THE history of a country is not confined to the books written on the subject, nor to the records and traditions from which such books have been compiled. It extends over a far wider surface, and derives its information from sources of a far more extended character. To those who are able to read, as it were, between the lines, it may truly be said that there are

“Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

We find in the superimposed rocks, evidences of the history of a period so far away as to baffle calculation, rich with the fossil remains of creatures which fretted their little hour on the stage of life, and then passed into oblivion. The various races of men who have succeeded each other have left indelible indications of their mode of life. The structures they have erected exhibit the position they held in the advance of civilisation; the languages they spoke, the laws by which they were ruled, the manners and customs which moulded their daily life, present living pictures before us, and connect us closely, by bands which cannot be loosed, with the successive ages of our predecessors.

I am not going to range over this wide field, which would require an extent and variety of attainment to which I can make no claim. My observations are limited to one department of this wide field of inquiry, which is into the names of places as illustrative of the history of the locality, that is, of the county of Pembroke. The county is interesting from an ethnological point of view, owing to the number of races which have occupied the country either contemporaneously or successively. As this has already been ably treated, I will not dwell upon it. The essence of my remarks is this, that each race has left behind, in the nomenclature of the districts, the rivers, mountains, towns, and villages, indelible marks of their presence, abode, and influence.

The earliest inhabitants of whom we have plain indications were of the Cymric branch of the great Keltic family, who have played a very important part in the history of Europe, and whose descendants still maintain possession of the mountain fastnesses of their ancestors. These, however, were not the aborigines. There can be little doubt that they were preceded by a population belonging to the Euskarian race, who have left traces of their existence all over Europe, in their lake-dwellings, their flint implements, and to a certain extent in the names of places. Whether any of this primitive nomenclature still exists within the confines of Britain is a moot point, and forms an interesting but difficult subject of inquiry. The basis of the place-names of Pembrokeshire is undoubtedly Cymric. The name of the county, *Pen-bro* (the head or projection of the land), shows this. The salient features of the country are pure Cymric, such as the rivers *Teifi*, *Taff*, *Towy*, *Aron Gwaen* (white or clear), the *Cleddau*, East and West (quiet river). The mountains, *Mynydd Preseley*, *Moel Feddau*, *Bedd Arthur*, *Foel Erni*, *Marros*, etc. The names of the towns, villages, and hamlets, to a great extent tell the same tale. The *Llans*, the *Abers*, the *Pants*, the *Llwyns*, the *Rhoses*, the *Eglwys*, the *Caers*, *cum multis aliis*, commemorate the early settlers on the soil.

It might reasonably be expected that, situated as they are, on each side of the estuary of the Severn, there would be some correspondence in the Celtic nomenclature

between Pembroke and Cornwall, since the languages spoken in each district were mere varieties or dialects of their mother tongue. On examination we find that this is really the case. There is an old saw which informs us that

“ By Tre, Pol, and Pen,
You shall know the Cornish men.”

The prevalence of these three appellations is quite as common in Pembrokeshire as in Cornwall. They mean respectively a habitation, a pool, and an eminence or termination. We find in Pembrokeshire, *Tre-widdel*, *Tre-ricket*, *Tre-galed*, *Tre-groes*, etc.; *Pwll-coch*, *Pwll-crochan*, *Pwll-long*, *Pwll-cregyn*, with many others; *Pen-lan*, *Pentre*, *Pen-birch-du*, *Pen-pistyll*, etc.

The reason why these terms, adopted so frequently in the formation of personal names in Cornwall, are scarcely ever found in this relation in Wales, is this, that when surnames became adopted, about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Cornishmen took the name of their place of abode, whilst the Welsh adhered to the patronymics, as *Ap-Robert*, now *Probert*, *Ap-John*, *Ap-William*, *Ap-Richard*, now curtailed into Jones, Williams, and Prichard.

There is another link of connection between the two shores of the Severn sea, in the names of the saints to whom the early churches were dedicated, many of which are to be found nowhere else. Thus we have St. Petrox in Pembroke, St. Petrock in Devon; two churches dedicated to St. Issell in Pembroke, and one in Cornwall; St. Edrins in Pembroke, St. Ervan in Cornwall; St. Elvis in Pembroke, St. Evals in Cornwall. We all know that David (not King David, but one of native growth) is the patron saint of Wales. In addition to the venerable seat of the bishopric, we find the name very widely adopted in the Principality. In Pembroke there is, besides the Cathedral, the parish of Llan-dewi. In England, early churches dedicated to St. David are not common; but we find an early church of St. David in Exeter, and a parish of St. Day or David in Cornwall.

The first intrusion into the Cymric nomenclature came from the Romans. In A.D. 50 the country of the Silures, including what is now Pembrokeshire, was invaded by

Ostorius Scapula. Though checked for a time, the Roman arms ultimately prevailed, and the district was annexed to the Roman empire. Towns were founded and roads made, the memory and the names of which are still preserved. The fortress of *Menapia* was constructed in Whitesand Bay, with the outlying camp of *Octopitarum* on the promontory now St. David's Head. From thence a road called the *Via Flandrica* was carried across the country to *Moridunum*, the modern Carmarthen. The course of this road is traced by the numerous *castella* erected on the route, called in Welsh *castells*. From *Moridunum* the *Via Julia* was carried along the coast through *Leucarium* (now Laugharne), *Nidum* (now Neath), and forward to *Isca Silurum* (now Caerleon). Beyond these roads and fortresses the Romans have left, in this quarter, no memorials of their dominion.

After the retirement of the Romans the district remained without much disturbance for some centuries. The Saxons warred with the Welsh chieftains with varying fortunes, but no attempt was made to settle in force. Hence the entire absence of all purely Saxon nomenclature in the county. The *hams*, the *wicks*, the *worths*, the *bournes*, the *steads*, the *stocks*, the *burys*, the *leys*, are all wanting. But another intrusive element was at hand. From the sixth to the ninth centuries the coasts of Britain were harried and plundered by the hardy Norsemen, who have left memorials of their prowess on almost every headland, island, and scar from the Solway to the Severn. In Pembrokeshire, along the coast, the Danish or Norse names abound. We have *Strumble* Head, *Ramsey* Island, *Stack* Rock, *Skomer* Island, *Skokholm*, *Gateholm*, *Caldy* Island, *Angle*, *Wormshead* or *Ormeshead*, *Temperness*, the *Nose* or *Naze*, etc. The permanent settlements of the Norsemen in the interior were limited, but some are still extant. *Haverfordwest*, in Danish *Hafnffjord*, indicates precisely the advantages of the site. Situated on the river Cleddau at the point where it becomes navigable, it gave easy access for the Danish keels to the interior of the country, whilst the fact of a ford there existing gave facilities for their plundering land expeditions.

Fishguard is probably a settlement of Danish origin,

though it is possible that it previously bore the Cymric name of *Pysgodan*, the fishery. Tenby has been supposed to owe its name to the Danes, *Dane-by*, the Danish town; but this derivation will not stand criticism. Its original name, as recorded in history,¹ was *Dynbych-y-Pysgod*, the small fortress by the fishery, to distinguish it from the Denbigh or Dynbych in North Wales.

The main settlement of the Norsemen was between Haverfordwest and Milford Haven, extending westward to the sea. Here we find a curious reminiscence of Scandinavian mythology in *Hasguard*, or Asgard, the place of bliss, the paradise of the Norsemen. The neighbourhood abounds in Danish names. There are two Haroldstons, Herbrandston, Habberston, Freystrop, Skerryback; a number of havens,—Broad Haven, Sandy Haven, Monk Haven, Martin's Haven, Mill Haven, St. Bride's Haven, etc. Wick, a bay,—Galleys Wick, Maselwick, Mathwick, Moody Nose or Ness. Dale and Dale Point. Marl-oes, the marly cliffs or eminences.

It is a remarkable fact that these Scandinavian names of features on the coast are confined to the southern shore, and to the western shore up to the middle of St. Bride's Bay. To the northward of this a Norse name hardly occurs, the nomenclature being entirely Cymric. As we recede from the coast we meet with many names evidently of Teutonic origin, of which it is difficult to determine whether they are Norse or not. To these I shall presently allude.

The hardy Norsemen ceased to harry the coast in the eighth century, but no doubt they maintained the settlements to which they had given the names. These settlements were not continuous, nor connected, but were for the most part of a sporadic character, scattered up and down the country, intermixed with the pure Cymry, and confined to the south-western portion of the county.

Next came the Norman conquest of England. The Normans, I need hardly say, were the immediate descendants of the bold Norsemen or Danes, who, in the

¹ Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, 4to., 1811, p. 452; *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xviii (continuation by Rees), p. 766; *Black's Guide*, 1874, p. 321. If I am not greatly mistaken, *Dynbych y Pysgod* is still recognised as the Welsh name.

ninth century, wrested the fair province of Neustria from the kingdom of France, and gave their own name to it. They possessed a remarkable facility for adapting themselves to the circumstances of the various countries which became theirs by right of conquest. In France they soon became Frenchmen; in Italy, Italians; and in England they ultimately became Englishmen, always maintaining their supremacy as lords paramount. No long time elapsed after the Conquest before the roving free corps of the Normans made inroads into Wales; and, owing to some disturbances arising out of the refusal of the Welsh to pay tribute, the royal army invaded the country, and compelled the Welsh princes to do homage. After some vicissitudes, the Norman barons took possession of the land, and held it as tenants in chief under the Crown, converting the Welsh petty princes into vassals. In this division Roger de Montgomery acquired the county of Cardigan, and Arnulph, his youngest son, the county of Pembroke. Their possessions being held by the strong hand, castles and fortified places became necessary, and were soon erected—Pembroke to protect the estuary of Milford Haven, Haverfordwest to guard the upper navigation of the western Cleddau, Picton to guard the eastern branch of the Cleddau, and Manorbeer to safeguard the southern coast, with minor forts elsewhere. This castle-building introduced a few new names, but not to any great extent. Pembroke and Manorbeer retained the Cymric names of the localities; Haverfordwest continued the Danish name. Picton Castle took the name of its founder, a Norman knight in the train of the great lord, Roger de Montgomery. Castle Martin, Castle Rock, Castle Hendre or Henry, Castle Maurice, Castle Bythe, with others, are marks of the Norman influence of the period.

In the year 1108, to strengthen the hands of the Norman over-lords, a colony of Flemings, expatriated by some political crisis in Flanders, were encouraged to settle in Pembrokeshire. They took up the same district, which had been partially occupied by the kindred Norsemen two hundred years previously, and contributed to the change of nomenclature already initiated. The range of their vocabulary is not very extensive. The great

majority have the suffix *ton*, as *Johnston*, *Roteston*, *Loveston*, *Reymalton*, etc., probably associated with the names of the founders in each case. Most of the English names in this part of the country have a very modern aspect. Of the ancient ones, it is extremely difficult to determine in many cases whether they have descended from the time of the Norse settlements or have been applied subsequently. Such names as *Clover Hill*, *Rose Hill*, *Fern Hill*, *Stoneley*, *Heathy Ley*, *Westfield*, *Highgate*, *Eastwood*, *Broadway*, *Clayford*, etc., may belong to any period since the Conquest. It would seem that the principal names applied by the Flemish colony ended in *ton*, and that the others have gradually grown up in the course of ages.

The connection of Pembrokeshire with the conquest of Ireland is a very striking episode in the history of Great Britain. In 1167, Letters Patent were issued by Henry I, on behalf of Dermot Mac Murrough, Prince of Leinster—who had been ejected from his kingdom—authorising all Englishmen, Normans, and Scots to go to his assistance. This was responded to by Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow. With the aid of two Pembrokeshire lords, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitzgerald, a small force of picked men was raised, and the invasion of Ireland, which was to lead to such momentous consequences, was begun. Strongbow's army consisted principally of the Flemings of Pembrokeshire. At the very commencement of the war a grant was made by Mac Murrough to the two Pembrokeshire chiefs of the town of Wexford, with two cantreds or hundreds of land in the neighbourhood. These were occupied and settled by the Flemings of Pembrokeshire, and constitute the baronies of Forth and Bargy. Their descendents, down to a very recent period, kept themselves as distinct from the native Irish as the descendants of the Flemings in Pembrokeshire from the Welsh, maintaining their own language, manners, and customs. It is only reasonable to suppose that the kindred colonies on each side of the Channel would keep up a friendly intercourse, but of this I have no knowledge.

I have thus briefly endeavoured to show the interest which attaches to place-names, and the aid which they

lend to historical and typographical inquiries. The application of philology to history and antiquities is a science of very recent date. It has already made great progress, and has produced very important results. The principal hindrance to its reception by educated persons consists in the wild, reckless manner in which the subject has been treated by persons whose ignorance has only been equalled by their conceit. Any fancied resemblance between words, however remotely separated in time, space, and family, has been grasped at and held forth as evidence of analogies utterly baseless. A better feeling now prevails, and philology is taking its place as a science based on law, and regulated by principles. A wide field is opened for its study, and it cannot be considered out of place in the inquiries which have brought us together on the present occasion.

THE FLEMINGS AND THEIR CHIMNEYS IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY REV. W. O. B. ALLEN, M.A.

(*Read at the Tenby Congress, 1884.*)

ANY one coming for the first time into the south part of Pembrokeshire must be struck with the difference between this part of the county and other parts of Wales. The people talk English as their native tongue, and the tourist, therefore, finds himself able to converse with the inhabitants; the names of the towns and villages are easily pronounced, and the Englishman's ear is not vexed with a series of guttural sounds, nor is his eye puzzled by a combination of *w*'s and *y*'s, which seem to him impossible to comprehend. The ecclesiastical prefix of "Llan", so universal in other parts of Wales, is here almost unknown, and the ordinary English "St." is comparatively common. Thus, for example, we find the village names of St. Florence, St. Twynnell's, St. Bride's, St. Ishmael's, St. Dogmael's, and many others; while such English-sounding names as Bosherton, Gumfreston, Hodgeston, and Wiston, are but examples of names which occur all over this part of the county. Any one comparing such names with those in Cardiganshire or Carmarthenshire will see how the pure Welsh nomenclature has here disappeared.

Now this difference between South Pembrokeshire and the rest of Wales arises from a cause to which I wish to draw your attention. It arises from the fact that all this part of the country was settled, in the reign of Henry I, by a colony of Flemings. This settlement of foreigners is in many ways almost unique. It differs from any other immigration into England, and it renders the history of Pembrokeshire peculiar and interesting. Let us first learn what we can about the fact, as it is stated by contemporary chroniclers and later historians.

In Grafton's *Chronicles*, dated 1569, and compiled from William of Malmesbury and other writers, the facts are thus stated:—"1105. In the sixt yere of the king (Henry I) the countrie of Flaunders was sore blemished and hurt by meane of the sea, so that the Fleminges were enforced to seeke for succour and place of dwellyng, and required of the king to haue lycence that they might inhabite in the east part of Tweede, the which to them was graunted. But after a certeyne of yeres they were remoued into West Wales, where they remayned a long while, but after they spreð all England ouer."

Here, then, we see that in consequence of some great inundation a number of Flemings were forced to take refuge in this country. Henry's gift of land to the drowned-out Flemings was the first time an asylum to foreigners was offered by England. The natives of other lands had, before, come here as invaders or as merchants. They now came as suppliants, and were not sent empty away. Henry's action was the precursor of like kindness shown in later times to Huguenots and to French *émigrés*. May we not say that it was the spiritual ancestor of Mansion House Funds and other large subscriptions freely given by the people of England to people of all nations and colour and language, who have been in trouble or distress? England then began to be an asylum for foreigners, a character which she has never lost.

Holinshed, who says that the Flemings were removed in the year 1111 from the east part of Tweed¹ into Pembrokeshire, tells us also that this settlement of Flemings did not only consist of these poor fugitives from the sea, "but of others also that arriued here longe before, euen in the daies of William the Conqueror, through the freendship of the quéene their countriewoman, sithen which time thier number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them; wherevpon King Henrie deuised to place them in Pembrokeshire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as

¹ What exactly is here meant by the "east part of Tweede"? It will be seen later on that a great deal depends on the answer to this question. It is clearly some part of the northern counties; and if Cumberland may be thus named, I can point to a chimney in that county similar to those so common in Pembrokeshire.

also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fiercenesse of the Welchman. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe : for after they were setled there, they valiantlie resisted their enimies, and made verie sharpe wars upon them, sometimes with gaine and sometimes with losse."

It may be interesting to record what the *Welsh Chronicle* says of this settlement of foreigners in Pembrokeshire. "1108. The yeare 1108 the rage of the sea did ouerflow and drowne a great part of the lowe countrie of Flanders, in such sort that the inhabitants were driuen to seeke themselves other dwelling places, who came to King Henrie, and desired him to give them some void place to remaine in ; who being verie liberall of that which was not his owne, gaue them the land of Ros in Dyuet, or West Wales, where Pembroke, Tenby, and Hauerford are now built, and there they remaine to this daie, as may well be perceiued by their speach and conditions farre differing from the rest of the countrie."¹ It is hardly likely that a Welshman would look at this colonisation of his country exactly in the same light as an Englishman. The great part of Wales was at this time still independent, under its own kings ; but in Pembrokeshire, and in Gower in Glamorganshire, the Norman knights had built castles, and had annexed a certain part of the land. These knights were glad of more brave men-at-arms, who would colonise the country and keep back the Welsh, and prevent them reconquering their lands. Thus they were willing to provide the Flemings with habitations on condition of their garrisoning the castles which the king then had in Wales.² It is this service rendered to the Norman knights which is made the basis of the plot of Sir Walter Scott's novel of *The Betrothed*, where the loyal Fleming, Wilkin Flammock, defends the castle on the Welsh Marches against the attacks of the Welsh Prince of Powys.

But the strongest authority for the existence of the Flemish colony remains to be mentioned, and when I name Giraldus, surnamed Cambrensis, I am sure all who have

¹ *The History of Cambria, written in the Brytish Language by Caradoc of Ilancaeruan*, translated by H. Lloyd, and re-edited by Powel.

² Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*. 1833. Art., "Tenby."

read his *Itinerary* through Pembrokeshire will allow that he could hardly have been totally mistaken on such a plain matter of fact, which had happened such a short time previously.

In 1188 Archbishop Baldwin journeyed through Wales to preach the crusade, and he was accompanied by his Archdeacon of Brecon, known now as Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote an account of this *Itinerary*. Giraldus was himself born at Manorbier about 1145, and therefore had lived amongst the Flemings. When he and the archbishop came into these parts of the country on their journey, he was in his own neighbourhood, and was no English foreigner liable to be imposed upon by the men of Pembrokeshire. His statement is this:—"The inhabitants of this province derived their origin from Flanders, and were sent by King Henry I to inhabit these districts; a people brave and robust, ever hostile to the Welsh; a people, I say, well versed in commerce and woollen manufactories; a people anxious to seek gain by sea or land, in defiance of fatigue and danger; a hardy race, equally fitted for the plough or the sword; a people brave and happy, if Wales (as it ought to have been) had been dear to its sovereign, and had not so frequently experienced the vindictive resentment and ill-treatment of its governors."¹

The ill-treatment of governors and the hostility to the Welsh have long ceased here, but Pembrokeshire men may still remember with pleasure, and testify to the present truth of this description of the character of their countrymen, who are still brave, hardy, and anxious to seek gain by sea or land, and equally fitted for the plough or the sword. I think, then, the statements of the English chroniclers and of the Welsh chronicler, and of our own Pembrokeshire man Giraldus, who lived so near to the time, unite in making out a case for the colonisation of this part of the county by the Flemings, which it is impossible to gainsay or resist.

I now come to the more difficult part of my subject, and attempt to defend the common title of the Flemish chimney, and to show that this style of chimney may rightly be associated with this foreign immigration. The

¹ From the translation by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., 1806.



RUINED CHIMNEY AT PENALLY, NEAR TENBY, PEMBROKESHIRE.



ROUND CHIMNEY, MONKTON, PEMBROKE.





form of chimney is well known to most of you. This round, massive, tower-like structure, standing on its own foundation, and tapering upwards, is a familiar object to all archæologists, and you must all have seen many examples of it at Manorbier and S. Florence, and even in this town itself. But many competent architects and archæologists have cast scorn on the name Flemish, and have denied that there is any evidence to associate these chimneys with the men of Flanders. The arguments of the opposers have been twofold. They have said that such chimneys are not found in Flanders, and that the houses on which they occur are of much later date than the twelfth century. I would answer that, first, the hypothesis is that these men of Flanders were drowned out of their own homes, and that therefore their houses lie under the waves of the sea, where no one can examine their ruins or descant on their style. And secondly, concerning the argument from the late date of present buildings, it may be that the same style continued to prevail for many years. It is no argument to say that these chimneys could not have been built by Flemings because those we possess are generally of later date than their first settlement here. They remained here undisturbed: they never were removed: they increased and flourished. No doubt they altered and improved their houses year by year, but the same style of chimney might have continued to be copied by their later descendants, who in the best spirit of conservatism kept that which was old and good, while they were not afraid of a wise spirit of change in doorways or windows or other parts of their dwelling-places.

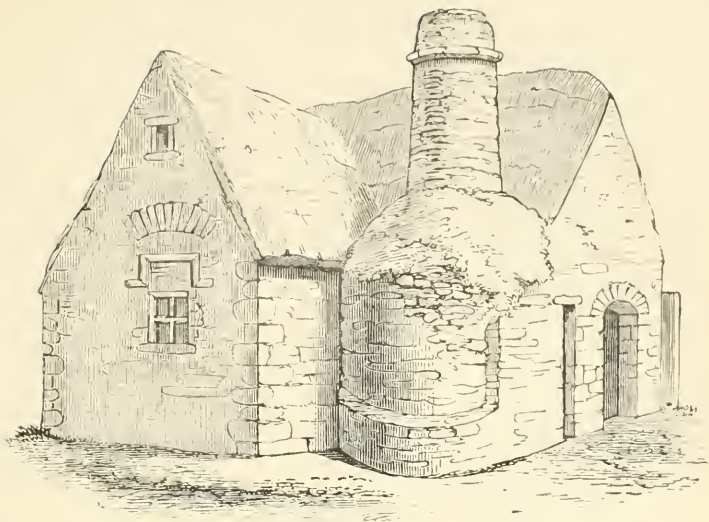
But I think I have a piece of positive evidence which I have never seen published, that seems to associate the chimneys with their architects. The only other place in which I know that this type of chimney occurs is in an old house on Coniston Lake in Cumberland, in the possession of Major Le Fleming, which I roughly sketched in 1869. You remember that the Flemings first were settled "in the easte part of Tweede", that from thence they journeyed into West Wales, probably by the old road, running through Llandoverly, still called by the Welsh the Road of the Flemings. But there are still Flemings in Cumberland—

it is by no means an uncommon surname—and Coniston Hall may have been built by Flemish architects. It certainly seems curious that in the only two parts of Great Britain which are known to have been partially colonised by Flemings, these round chimneys are found.¹ They stand unique amongst all sorts and shapes and sizes of chimney; and here in Rhôs, and in Cumberland, their ruins still testify to a settlement of foreigners. I think this fact goes far to prove that the Flemings were the architects, and gives certainly additional weight to the old tradition which has given their name to these structures.

I may say one word about the probable date of these chimneys. I know only of one which can be certainly dated.

In the old palace of the Bishops of St. David's a beautiful specimen of the round chimney occurs. This palace was built by Bishop Gower, about 1342, after he had built his house at Lamphey. The chimney (now, alas! fallen) was built of red and white stones, arranged in a chequered or chess-board pattern, and was peculiarly graceful. I cannot think that this was the first attempt at a round chimney; I think it may have existed for a hundred years previously. The arrangement of the two coloured stones shows that the style was well known, and that it was here used and improved by a master builder and a man of taste. We may therefore suppose, with some probability, that Bishop Gower found this style common in South Pembrokeshire, that he was pleased with its shape, and that he transported it to adorn his greatest architectural work. He improved all that he touched, and he certainly built the most beautiful round chimney in the world. If this guess has any weight, we may say with some probability that this style of chimney existed as early as the thirteenth century, which brings it within a hundred years of the settlement of the Flemings in the

¹ Could not some local member of the Association, resident near Coniston, make a picture or write a technical description of the old house here referred to, so that its architectural features might be compared with the round chimneys in Pembrokeshire? When I showed my rough sketch of the house at Coniston to the members at the meeting, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock admitted that it was very like Pembrokeshire work.



ROUND CHIMNEY AT MANORBIER.



ROUND CHIMNEYS AT CONISTON, CO. LANC.



twelfth century. But all this is guesswork, and my time runs short. But I hope I have shown that there is strong evidence, not only for the existence of the Flemings in Pembrokeshire, but also for associating their name with the ruins of the round chimneys which still remain. The fact of Coniston Hall, so like to a Pembrokeshire ruin, goes far to give credit in my mind to the old name of Flemish chimney.

I can only hope that I may have aroused some little interest in the past history of our county and in its architectural remains. The Flemish chimney is a witness of a great catastrophe which happened more than seven centuries ago to a neighbouring people. It tells us of an asylum offered by an English king, perhaps too liberal of that which was hardly his own, to fugitives escaping from the wrath of the sea. And it records one of those mixtures of race which have added to the greatness of Englishmen, by incorporating the good qualities of many diverse people into one stock. Thus the old stones of the round chimneys of Pembrokeshire tell us of many records of the past. They need but little interpretation to become vocal to the ears of this generation, and I would venture to plead that they should be carefully preserved and held in honour by every archæologist, and still more by every inhabitant of Pembrokeshire.

EFFIGY AT UPTON CASTLE, PEMBROKE-SHIRE.

BY H. HALFORD VAUGHAN, LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

(Read at the Tenby Congress, 1884.)

WE may regard the history of defensive armour from the twelfth to the fifteenth century to be that of a knight who, being lapt in a coat of chain mail—the hauberk, at the first of these epochs—has it stripped piecemeal from his body constantly during the progress of four centuries, and has during the course of the same time fragments of another kind of armour so, from time to time, substituted for it, that in the end he is armed *cap-à-pie* in a panoply of plate. The times and order of these several substitutions we are informed of by the recorded dates of various monuments which exemplify them. To the monument before us no date has yet been assigned. I propose, therefore, to state the character and condition of all its parts; to appreciate the amount of change which it must have undergone, if it had been one piece of armour gradually converted from the panoply of chain mail into mixed mail and plate; and thus to assign to the whole work that point of time to which an armed knight, so treated as I have described, would have presented the same appearance to the eye.

If we divide the human body into parts containing organs noble and vital, and parts containing organs vital but less noble, and parts performing functions not vital, but useful, we may say that the changes from mail to plate affected each in the order of its dignity and importance. To begin, then, with the armour of the most noble and vital organs. There were three alterations made in the head-gear of an armed knight during the course of the four centuries which I have named; one in the thirteenth century, one in the fourteenth, and the third early in the fifteenth century. When consisting entirely of mail, the head-piece was either a flat cap of chain, placed over a plated cap, or a cap of chain mail

stuffed into a cylindrical cap of metal. In both cases the chain mail thus remained to constitute a protection for the entire head, and of this condition the monument of William Longuespée, Earl of Salisbury, who died in the year 1224, furnishes an example. By the first change, however, which substituted plate for mail, the cap of mail was cut away from the rest of the hauberk, enveloping the crown only, and in the place of it was left a metal helmet, flat or round at the top, to the straight border and rim of which the remaining portion of the hauberk of chain mail was made fast. This first alteration the effigy of Thomas Berkely in Bristol Cathedral, bearing date 1243, exemplifies. By the second change, occurring in the fourteenth century, and affecting the head-gear in the shape and size of this plated head-piece, it was brought lower down over the hinder half of the head, so as to protect the back of it no less than the crown, while for its round or flat top was substituted one that had a point. Of the head-gear in this condition we have, besides several other examples, a perfect specimen in the effigy at Tewkesbury of Sir Guy de Bryan, who died in the year 1365. The figure before us illustrates this second change.

The chain-mail of the hauberk is fastened to the base and sides of a pointed bassinet by cords passing through staples so as to enclose the back and lower parts of the head in plate, so as also to leave the cheeks and moustache (at this period allowed to grow) visible, but further, so as to leave the chin and neck still enveloped in chain-mail. It does not, therefore, exemplify the third change, which took place in the fifteenth century, and consisted in the substitution of a metal collar of plate round the neck for the mail-chain of the hauberk which had hitherto protected it; for we see here the hauberk of single mail still closing and guarding the lower part of the face and the throat down to the shoulders. The Upton figure, so far as concerns the head and neck, therefore, seems to represent that form of defensive armour which prevailed at the very end of the fourteenth or the first years of the fifteenth century, and at no earlier or later period. It therefore seems to point to the last years of Richard II, or the whole reign of Henry IV, as the time at which

it was made. But let us descend to the trunk of the statue for further information. While the whole body of the armed knight was still covered from head to foot with mail, an overcoat of light material was invented to defend it from the heating effects of the sun's rays in hot climates, and also to admit upon its surface a conspicuous delineation of a coat of arms, by which the person of the knight might be identified. This overcoat, called the surcoat, was long, loose and sleeveless. It is said that in the reign of Edward III Lord Chandos lost his life through the length of this cumbersome garment, which threw him down by entangling his legs, and so exposed him to a deadly wound under his eye with a lance, of which he died in great agonies.

In the reign of Edward III, owing to this inconvenience possibly, the surcoat was cut away in front from the legs of the knight wearing it, but was left in its full length behind him. There are several monumental effigies which present to us specimens of the surcoat in this second and curtailed form ; one, for instance, in Westminster Abbey, of the Earl of Cornwall, who died in 1330 ; a second, Sir John d'Aubernon, at Stoke d'Aubernon, in Surrey, who also died in 1330 ; and a third, of Sir Oliver de Ingham, at Ingham, who deceased in 1343.

This second condition of the surcoat, under which it had the name of *Cyclas*, was transient. Its long hinder portion was soon cut off, so that being now wholly limited in length to the trunk, it soon assumed a new shape, of which the Upton monument before us presents a specimen. Underneath the mail of the hauberk is a close-fitting jacket, which terminates about the middle of the knight's figure, and ends in a cut border. This twice transmuted form of the ancient surcoat was made of silk or velvet, and received the name of "*guipon*", which is a Moorish word, I understand, signifying breast-plate. Of this there is one specimen in the effigy of Sir Guy de Bryan, who died, as I have said, in 1365. Another specimen is that of Sir George Fellrigge, who died in the year 1400, both nearly resembling that which we now look upon. It is a peculiarity of the Upton "*guipon*", however, that, so far as I can discern, it is not decorated with any coat of arms. But at this point the

shortening of the surcoat, in the manner which I have described, reveals to us a change which had been made in the body armour, affecting a far more important instrument of defensive armour than the surcoat.

In the figure of Sir John d'Aubernon, which, as I have said, presents us with an example of the surcoat curtailed into the cyclas, we see the hauberk, or coat of mail, also shortened, although in a far less degree than is the surcoat. But in the monument of 1365, that of Sir Guy de Bryan, where the surcoat is curtailed into the guipon, the hauberk descends only an inch below it. A similar feature is presented by the monument before you. You will observe that beneath and below, and only an inch or so below the cut fringe of the guipon, appears the plain edge of the coat of mail. Thus, the condition of the coat of mail, no less than that of the surcoat, pushes forward the date of the Upton monument into a period not earlier than that of Richard II's last years. But here again we are discouraged from ascribing it to any later period than Henry IV's reign. There is even an effigy of the year 1407, which exemplifies the form and kind of body armour which afterwards prevailed in the earlier years of the reign of Henry V. It is the effigy of Sir John Leysle, in the church of Thornton in Hampshire. It shows no guipon and no chain-apron, for after the accession of Henry V the use of the guipon appears to have been but occasional.

Having thus determined the earliest date to which the history of armour on the trunk, considered in reference particularly to the relative histories of chain and mail, permits us to ascribe the Upton Castle effigy, let us turn to the armour on the limbs with the same purpose. In all the monuments of the age which I have hitherto mentioned, the hauberk or coat of mail still holds its place, although in various degrees of extent, prominence, and importance, both upon legs and arms, up to the end of the reign of Edward III. Thus, in the year 1330, upon the monument of John d'Aubernon, mail envelopes both arms and legs, and metal plates are strapped over, so as but partially to cover it. In the year 1343, again, we still see the mail hauberk upon the limbs of Sir Oliver de Ingham, and plates fastened over both arms

and legs by a strap. In the effigy at Upton Castle, on the other hand, the arms and legs of the knight are enveloped in plate armour alone, both in arm and forearm and extreme elbow, and in thigh, shank, and knee-cap. The only remainder of chain mail which is in this Upton figure to be discerned are gussets of chain mail in the armpits, and similar gussets of chain mail at the back of the knee-joints and above the instep. Although, however, none of the figures which I have hitherto mentioned present the appearance of a similar condition on the limbs, yet there are monuments of a later date than Edward III, at least, which do so, and are generally almost a counterpart of this Upton figure, both positively and negatively.

The effigy of Sir John Harsich at South Aire, Norfolk, bearing the date of 1384, has plates covering the legs and plates on the arms, and has gussets of mail also, like the Upton Castle effigy, under the arms. But here, again, no sooner do we cast our eyes into the second decade of the fifteenth century, than we are repelled by forms and materials and arrangements varying from those discoverable on the Upton figure. The remnants of the mail armour to be found about the knees, insteps, and armpits of the Upton statue find no counterpart even in the monument of Sir George Fellrigge, who died in the year 1400,—a variation all the more instructive, as in other respects it discloses striking points of resemblance; while in the effigy of Sir John Leysle, who died in 1407, instead of the mail gussets beneath the shoulders, circular plates are affixed as more approved substitutes for them.

On the whole, therefore, I consider that this armed effigy at Upton was executed within a period embracing the last twenty years of Richard II and the whole reign of Henry IV. It is also to be regarded as one of a group of effigies, from which there beam the last faint and few rays of the once universal glory of that mail armour, in which so many heroes of English knighthood had fought, and in so many lands, and in causes so high and inspiring.

THE CROSS AT CAREW, PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

(Read 21 January 1885.)

THE cross at Carew is one of great interest to those who have given attention to this class of ancient monuments. It is marked by several important peculiarities ; the first of these being the inscription which it bears ; then its perfect completeness, its shouldered base, and the fact that its shaft is not a monolith, but is made up of two stones, the upper one having the cross shaped upon it with a tapering shaft and shouldered base, and is let into the lower stone which serves as the main shaft. The base on which the cross is erected is built of hard stones on the bank of the roadside. Whether from the time of its first erection this was always a roadside cross, or whether it has been brought to its present situation from elsewhere, or formerly stood in open land, the road having been formed by the side of it, are questions which it is difficult now to decide upon. Its oblong section on plan, tapering sides, with a rudely rounded moulding on the edges, and its various forms of sculpture, all accord with the same kind of monument met with in different parts of the country, and in fact coincide with early churchyard crosses.

A plaster cast of the inscription, and also a photograph of it, are sent herewith, together with a general sketch and measured elevations in outline, and plan drawn to a scale of half an inch to a foot. Also a small sheet, roughly indicating the kind of carving which the cross bears. To these are added a rough pencil sketch of the eastern side of the remains of the cross, to the east of the churchyard at Penally. The total height of the cross at Carew is 14 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and of this the main shaft is 10 feet 2 inches. It is built into a base 6 feet 11 inches long, by 4 feet 11 inches wide, and averaging 5 feet 6 inches in height. The fronts and ends of the cross are all sculptured, and the inscription is on the side

away from the road. There does not appear to be any animal sculpture attempted, nor even an approaching indication of it, as seen in the example from Penally, which out of its twisted knot-work is suggestive at least of animal form ; to about the same degree, however, the carving at Carew is carried in relation to vegetable form, in addition to which there is intertwining scroll work, the key pattern rudely indicated, and familiar knot-work. Mr. Laws gave as a translation of the inscription—

MARGIT

EUTDE

CETT EX.

and was understood to give the date as of the ninth century. Mr. de Gray Birch saw this cast at Tenby, and to some extent agreed with the letters as read by Mr. Laws, but not entirely. There can be no doubt that, whatever the date of this work may be, it is to be classed with other work which hitherto has been regarded by close observers as belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries.

If more care could be given to the study of the dates of the names inscribed on the cross, much aid would be rendered towards a true classification of this interesting monument.

THE ANCIENT SCULPTURED SHAFT IN THE PARISH CHURCH AT LEEDS.

BY THE REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

(Read March 4, 1885.)

THE modern history of this relic is as unique in some of its details as the relic itself. It has been told by Mr. R. W. Moore, architect, in his work entitled *A History of the Parish Church of Leeds* (Leeds, Richard Jackson, 1877). Mr. Moore was in the office of Mr. Chantrell, the architect of the parish church at Leeds, at the time when "Leeds Old Church" was pulled down in 1838, and no one is better qualified to tell the tale.

The first church on the site now occupied by the parish church may have replaced the edifice burned down at Campodonum in A.D. 633, the stone altar of which was saved from the fire, and was still preserved in Bede's time in the monastery of the Abbot Thriduulf in Elmete Wood.¹ A church was built at Leeds in later Saxon times, and it is mentioned in the Domesday Book. Yet another church preceded the one pulled down in 1838. It was built about the end of the eleventh or the commencement of the twelfth century, and from the state in which the Norman fragments were found by Mr. Chantrell, it, like its earliest predecessor, was destroyed by fire. The fourth church was that pulled down in 1838, the church to which the ballad of "Leeds Old Church" belongs, where the countryman, unaccustomed to the splendours of a three-decker of such dimensions, and to the responses of a clerk with such a voice, described the clerk in the bottom storey responding to the parson in the storey above, in the line, "And he stood oop i' t' bottom-most tub and mocked what t'other chap said." This church was described by the old historian of Leeds as an ancient structure with some remains of Norman work, but chiefly of the Perpendicular period. The

¹ Bede, *H. E.*, ii, 14.

original south wall was pulled down in 1809 and rebuilt, and in the course of this work the head of an old wheel cross was found. The nave and the tower were the oldest parts of the church, dating from the reign of Edward III, and it was in taking down the tower in 1838 that the fragments of the sculptured shaft with which we are dealing were found. "In pulling down the tower", Mr. Moore says (p. 54), "Mr. Chantrell's attention was called to the curious interlaced characters on some of the stones as they lay among the *débris*, and his curiosity and antiquarian knowledge were at once roused. We searched for others, found them, and rewards were offered by Mr. Chantrell to the workmen who should find and bring him any carved stones. By this means he got together a large collection, and had them moved to his residence, Oatlands House, Little London, where by carefully and minutely examining them, and by the careful use of the chisel, dilute acids, etc., removing the lime and plaster thereon, he succeeded in obtaining sufficient in time to enable him to decipher the form of the entire pillar, and by making drawings of each part as successively brought to him, and by measuring them carefully, he was enabled to fit them together and thus get one all but perfect." I may add that when he set the pieces up in the form of a shaft, he set Mr. Moore to draw the pillar on a large scale. Mr. Moore has the drawing still, and he obligingly allowed me to show it at a lecture on the cross, which I gave at the Church Institute, Leeds, in January 1884.

Mr. Chantrell left Leeds, and went to live in London, taking with him the cross, and setting it up at Newington Butts. He then moved further southwards, and set up the cross on the lawn of his house at Rottingdean. On his death it was recovered for Leeds by Dr. Gott, the vicar, who placed it in the church, on the south side of the choir, where it now stands. No one who knows Leeds Church needs to be told that it is not in a very strong light. It has had an old wheel cross-head fitted on to it, which probably never belonged to it in the earlier stages of its existence. Mr. Chantrell believed that sculptured stones enough to form six other pillars were carried off by Leeds people from the *débris* of the old church. To



Hatched portions are modern.

J. Romilly Allen, C.E., F.S.A. (Scot.)
delt.



connect it with this head a piece of stone has been fitted on to the top of the broken shaft, with sculptures designed for the purpose. The right-hand half of the bottom portion of the shaft is similarly a restoration, and the left-hand half of a portion nearer the top of the shaft.

Proceeding now to a description of the shaft itself, I propose to call that face the front which lies to the left on the Plate. And here I must express my earnest thanks to Mr. J. Romilly Allen for allowing me to use his careful and beautiful drawing, as also for much information and assistance during the last three years, and for valuable promises of help in the future. The side which lies next to it is the right side, and next to that the left. The remaining face may be called the rear. The scroll-work on the left side and on the upper part of the right is stiff and poor as compared with that found on many early crosses and shafts. As I hope to be allowed to bring the whole question of early scroll-work before the Association on some occasion in the future, I do not propose to discuss the Leeds scrolls now.

The endless bands on the right side are curious, the upper one because of its uncouthness and distortion, so very unlike the symmetry which usually attends such ornament, and the lower one because it is so different from anything known elsewhere. There is, however, a pattern greatly resembling it on an unpublished fragment at Kirk Levington, but in that example the band makes two rectilineal angles instead of a continuous curve, in turning to double back again to the other side. The resemblance is so remarkable, and these two are so solitary, that I send my rubbing of three sides of the Kirk Levington stone to illustrate this Leeds pattern. Mr. Chantrell thus interpreted the meaning of these two ornaments (Moore, p. 58):—"The lower is an endless band, double-laced, and formed into twenty-four loops. This is intended evidently for the day and its simple divisions, and has reference to the first and second figures of the face. The upper is a curiously interlaced figure of seven loops, one round, four pointed, and two horned or double-pointed. This, I conceive, alludes to the week, the seven planets known to the ancients."

The second panel from the bottom of the face contains

a figure not very unfrequently found in one form or another on sculptured stones. There is an example on a fragment at Ilkley, where the band makes a double instead of a treble loop in each corner of the panel. Probably by far the finest example of this pattern is on the wonderful stone at Dunfallandy, near Pitlochry. It will be observed that this panel is somewhat awry, the distortion being caused by the upper and lower boundaries not being parallel. The result of this is stated by Mr. Chantrell—and my own rough investigation has satisfied me that the coincidence is very remarkable—to be, that if the cross be properly orientated in the latitude of Leeds, one of the diagonals of the panel, if produced, would strike the pole star, while the other points to the position of the sun in the meridian at the summer solstice. He believes that each of the four divisions represents a season or quarter of the year, its three divisions the three months, and the thirty intersections of the band “the days of the ancient month”. There are, no doubt, exactly thirty intersections, if the one in the centre is not counted. Perhaps Mr. Chantrell would have suggested that, including the central crossing, the figure served the purpose of pointing out that certain months have thirty-one days.

I mention these interpretations out of respect for the gentleman who preserved this remarkable relic of the past, not because I am disposed to assign any weight to them. At the same time, I am anxious to express my belief that there is a great deal of unreasoning credulity in some forms of scepticism, and that it was not, as a matter of course, a mere chance with our ancestors whether a band intersected thirty times or twenty-four. They did not produce so many designs in the course of a year that each was dashed off without special intent. In all my experience I have never found one stone the duplicate of another. I believe it might be said of English stones that no two panels in the whole series are exactly alike. This, even if it fail in instances unknown to me or forgotten for the time, points to a special meaning or aim in each detail of the design.

The pattern at the top of the face was no doubt completed on a part of the shaft now lost. Thus, the actual

shaft must have been at least a foot higher than it is now. Mr. Allen's drawing of the rear shows it as completed at the top; but there is a rough fracture there, with the remains of some sculpture, of which I shall have something to say. My belief is that the shaft extended upwards sufficiently far to make room for a bust or half-length figure of our Lord above the pattern at the top of the face. This would make it in all about 11 feet 6 inches high, and would give it fairly graceful proportions. The dimensions of the ancient part of the shaft as now standing are :—Height, 8 feet 3 inches; width of face, 18 inches at base and 13 inches at top; width of side, 14 inches at base and 10 inches at top.

On a shaft of this description it is natural to expect some Scripture subjects. The great shafts at Ruthwell, Bewcastle, and Sandbach are sufficient to found this expectation. The two former bear a much closer relation to the Leeds shaft, so far as the panels are concerned, than either of the Sandbach shafts; indeed, the larger of the Sandbach shafts resembles the Leeds shaft only in the fact that on two opposite faces there are figures of men, and on the other faces scrolls and interlacing work, while the smaller shaft has even less resemblance than this. There is another shaft which compares with these in magnitude, viz., the graceful pillar at Gosforth, and there the sculptures represent Christian religious subjects as well as pagan. The circular pillars at Wolverhampton and elsewhere have no religious subject. The central shaft at Ilkley probably comes next in size to those which have been named, and it bears Scripture subjects on its panels. There is a shaft at Stonegrave, in Yorkshire, more massive than the Ilkley shaft, and with its wheel head fairly complete, but its main ornamentation is a mass of network; and it is of a type quite different from those under consideration.

The subjects most likely to be represented are our Lord and the Evangelists or some of the Apostles, but especially the Evangelists. The first mention we have of sacred art in England is the *imago* of our Lord, carried in the procession of Augustine and his companions on the occasion of their introduction to Ethelbert of Kent. When next we hear in detail of sacred art it is in con-

nection with Benedict Biscop, who decorated the apse of his church at Monkwearmouth with representations in painting or fresco of the Virgin Mary surrounded by the twelve apostles, while on either side of the nave he placed representations from the Old and New Testaments, arranging them so that type and anti-type came next one another. We can scarcely doubt that Wilfrith and his skilled stone-carvers selected Scriptural subjects for their work; and from Wilfrith's time onwards the sculptured stones of the north of England afford abundant evidence that when something more than interlacing work and scroll work was attempted, Scripture subjects were taken almost invariably. The great shaft at Bewcastle has on its lowest panel the figure of a man with a sword or other straight weapon or wand in his right hand, pointed downwards, and on or near his left hand a hawk or other bird of prey. The best engravings do not make it a bird of prey, but I have satisfied myself by a personal visit to that wild and distant place that the beak is that of one of the hawk tribe. The correspondence of the lowest panel of the face of the Leeds cross with this lowest Bewcastle panel cannot escape notice.

The methods in which the Evangelists were represented were various. As early as the fifth century they were represented in human form, with the bird or animal which was their symbol above their heads. This is so in St. John Lateran (462 A.D.). The earliest example is probably a mosaic in the Church of S. Sabina in Rome (424 A.D.). In an eighth century MS. from the south of France, St. John is a human figure with a long garment of a material like birds' wings, and with the head of an eagle in a nimbus. In the Church of S. Praxede in Rome (ninth century) they are an actual lion, ox, and eagle, each clasping a book with his claws or his hoofs. In a Latin MS. of the tenth century they are simple human bodies, with the head of an eagle, etc., in a nimbus. This is the arrangement on the central shaft at Ilkley, and it is carried out there in a very complete and beautiful manner, as may be seen by a reference to Mr. Romilly Allen's drawings in illustration of his paper on the Ilkley shafts.¹

¹ See *Journal*, xl, p. 169.

Now, my suggestion with regard to the Leeds shaft is that yet another method of indicating the Evangelists is there adopted. They are shown, I believe, as men, with the heads and the bodies of men, but with the claws or hoofs of their symbol, instead of human feet or hands. This will explain the otherwise exceedingly puzzling half-length figure on the middle of the face. It is St. Mark, with the claws of the leopard in place of the hands of a man, the absence of the lower extremities being due either to the difficulty of representing them, or to the exigencies of space. The figure in the middle of the rear is St. Matthew, with the complete figure of a man, further emphasised by his holding in his outstretched hand a book. The figure above him is St. Luke. What his hands may have been like it is impossible to say, but his feet are not men's feet. The sculptor had no difficulty in showing a man's foot when he wished to do so, as may be seen in two or three of the panels; but here he represents something quite different, and I take it to be the hoof of an ox. Mr. Allen's drawing shows something of a nondescript shape, and my outlined rubbing, taken at a time when I had not thought of St. Luke, tells, I think, no doubtful tale. Immediately above the remarkable head of this figure Mr. Allen's drawing finishes the shaft off, whereas the face shows at this point a fracture. The stone above is a new stone, with such devices as the architect thought likely; but before the new stone begins there is a very eloquent little bit of sculpture at the extremity of the old stone. This will be seen in the lithograph from Mr. Moore's book, which I append to my manuscript, and I have brought it out clearly, but I believe quite honestly, on my outlined rubbing. There is no doubt in my own mind, though I do not wish to dogmatise, that we have here the tips of the two wings, the tip of the tail, and three members of each of the two claws of the eagle, in which case the shaft presumably extended at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet higher than at present, and this face of the cross bore St. John, St. Luke, and St. Matthew, at full length, each with the feet of his symbol and the head and body of a man. On the opposite face of the cross the same amount of space would leave room for the completion of the interlacing pattern

and for a panel of the same size as that with St. Mark below, bearing in half length the figure of our Lord. At Ilkley the four Evangelists are all on one side of the cross, and on the other side, in the top panel, is our Lord, the panels below being filled with animal forms, probably representing the powers of nature, or the powers of evil, subdued. It is a confirmation of my view that at Ilkley St. John is at the top with his eagle's head, St. Luke next with the head of a calf, and at the bottom is St. Matthew, exactly as here at Leeds. It would be easy to form surmises as to the motive which selected St. Mark for the honour of being placed on the same side with our Lord, but I will confine myself to pointing out that he occupies the same relative position as at Ilkley, though on the opposite side, namely, between St. Matthew and St. Luke. It will be remembered that this order, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, while it is the order of the Gospels in our version, and in many manuscripts, is not the universal order in early manuscripts. Nor was this assignment of the symbols to the several Evangelists universal. The ox was always assigned to St. Luke, but Irenæus and some others gave the eagle to St. Mark and the lion to St. John.

I now pass to the two panels at the bottom of the shaft, one on the face and the other on the rear. One of these, as I have said, greatly resembles a panel in the same position at Bewcastle. The other is unlike anything else, I believe, in the world.

Taking this latter panel first, it should be noticed that Mr. Allen's drawing should have left the lower quarter on the left hand blank, the sculpture there being modern, and the repetition of the symbols on the modern part being seriously misleading. There remains more or less of a human figure, apparently with wings, clearly grasping in his outstretched hands the back hair and the petticoats of a woman who is lying at full length above his head. In the right-hand bottom corner are four objects, which have been variously interpreted. As this panel is of great importance, I show it in an outlined rubbing, and also in a papier-mâché cast which Mr. Moore took for me two or three years ago. The four objects in the corners of the panel are the pincers, the hammer, the bellows,

and the anvil of a smith. I append (see Plate opposite) two small photographs which Professor G. Stephens of Copenhagen sent to me, when he wrote to say that he entirely accepted my interpretation of this unique panel. They are from Scandinavian incised sepulchral stones of about the year 1000, representing the story of Sigurd Fafnesbane. They show the smith Reginn at work, with all the four implements found on the Leeds panel. The smith we know most about in the Sagas is the famous Völund, our Weyland Smith, and he distinguished himself by carrying off and marrying a swan-maiden; that is to say, he found her on the shore of a lake, at a distance from the movable wings with which she would have flown away from him if she could have reached them, seized and kept the wings, and carried off the damsel. This is the scene shown on the panel. The wings, which seem at first sight to belong to him, are really hanging by two ropes at his side. The ropes pass upwards on either side of his head, and probably are fastened to the waist of the maiden. This interpretation has been accepted by Scandinavian archaeologists—there is, so far as I know, no rival interpretation—and it is allowed that no such scene as this is known to be represented anywhere else. It is just possible that it relates to another part of Völund's life.

The remaining panel has one feature which, so far as I know, is without parallel. I mean the interlacing figure below the man's sword-hand. It is idle to attempt to say that it is a mere piece of ornament, put in to occupy a portion of the field. That is contrary to all experience. It means something very important and characteristic, and it was no doubt intended to point the reference of the panel at least as much as the bird whispering at the man's ear, or the pincers, etc., on the Völund panel. The fracture of the stone has removed all the upper part of the figure. My rubbing shows that from the lowest part of the figure to the man's arm there is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the gap in the stone occupies $3\frac{1}{2}$ of these. I believe that if we had the lost piece we should see that the figure is the representation of a dead snake, knotted, and made to conform somewhat to the prevailing taste for interlacing work.

It is unnecessary for me to begin a list of the specimens of interlacing work ending in the heads and tails of living snakes and dragons. The present is a fairly skilful representation of the difference between the living roundness of a reptile that is alive, and the broken curves of a bunch of dead snake. I may appeal to the experience of fishermen who have been driven to the use of worm when the water was not in a state for fly. But I find a much more remarkable illustration in the photograph of the Gok stone. It will be seen there that near the head of the horse lies a knotted snake. I take it to be the dead Fafner, for there is a wound some distance below its head. It is difficult to look at the purely Scandinavian details of the knotted body without seeing that between them and the Anglicised details of the work under consideration, there is a resemblance which cannot be explained away. I add a rubbing by Mr. Allen of a bone ring in the Guildhall Library. There are the same angular characteristics in the snake on this ring, and indeed it and the Gok snake are quite bewilderingly alike.

The other features exactly suit the story of Sigurd Fafnesbane, represented on the photographs which I have used to illustrate the tools on Völund's panel. The sword forged by Reginn, wherewith Sigurd slew the monstrous worm, was no doubt a straight two-edged sword of powerful build, for Sigurd was placed in a trench cut across the worm's path, to slay the worm by thrusting the sword upwards through his heart as he trailed his long length on his accustomed way to water. But we are not left to conjecture as to the view taken of the shape of this miraculous sword. A reference to the Gok and Ramsund photographs, where Sigurd is running the huge snake through from below, will show that in each case it is a straight, short, stout, double-edged sword. At Ramsund, where alone the details of the hilt are seen, the cross-hilt and the great round pommel are strikingly like the same features on the Leeds panel.

The Saga of Sigurd Fafnesbane proceeds to relate that when Sigurd had slain Fafner, the reptile's heart was roasted, and Sigurd, feeling it with his finger to see if it was sufficiently cooked, and then licking his finger, got practically the first taste of the heart before his traitorous

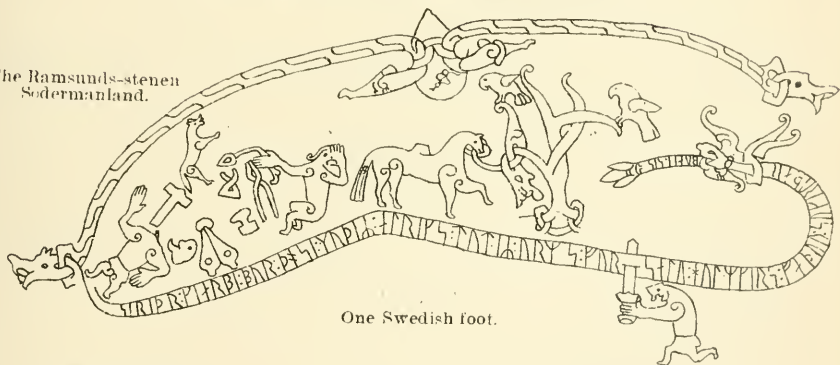


1 and 2. Panels from the Leeds Cross.



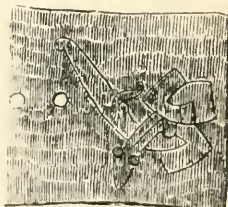
Part of Shaft,
Kik Levington.

The Ramsunds-stenen
Södermanland.



One Swedish foot.

Part of Pattern on Bone,
Guildhall Museum.



The Geks-stenen,
Södermanland, Sweden.





companion. This taste of Fáfnir's heart gave him the power to understand what birds said, and he heard one bird say to another that Sigurd ought to be beforehand with his enemy and kill him. Accordingly he cut off his head and became sole possessor of the horde of gold over which Fáfnir had brooded. In the Ramsund stone both birds are shown,—birds evidently of kin to the Leeds bird. At Gok, as at Leeds, only one is shown. Thus every detail of these two panels suits the Völund Saga and the Saga of Sigurd Fáfnirbane, and I know of nothing else which they suit at all.

Professor Stephens, in accepting with great warmth my interpretation of the Völund panel, remarked that in all probability the person to whose memory the cross was erected, or the person who paid for its erection, claimed some sort of kinship with Völund, or some ancestral connection with him. The same remark will apply to Sigurd Fáfnirbane, if this other panel really represents Sigurd. Now, in the same church wall with the pieces of this cross was found the Runic stone engraved in Professor Stephens's first volume of Runic monuments, bearing the words Kun[unc] Onlaf, or possibly Kung Onlaf. Professor Stephens suggests that this is Olaf Sitricsson, who was King of Northumbria 941-945 or thereabouts. This Olaf, however, who was also king of Dublin, died in Iona, to which place he had gone on pilgrimage after his defeat at the battle of Tara¹ in 980, and it is unreasonable to suppose that any monument would be set up to him in Northumbria, from which he had been expelled thirty-five years before his death.

Olaf Sitricsson had a cousin, Olaf Godfreyson. The two Olafs were together at the battle of Brunanbyrig in 937 or 938, the battle so fatal to the Danish forces. In 939 Simeon of Durham says that Edmund succeeded Athelstan as King, and King Onlaf first came to York. Then he adds that Onlaf, after besieging Northampton in vain, and devastating the country between Tamworth and Leicester, fell in with Edmund and his army. They came to terms and divided England between them, Watling Street—practically a line drawn from Chester to London—being their boundary, and Onlaf taking the northern half.

¹ See Dr. Todd's *Wars of the Gaidhel with the Gaill*.

His next entry is as follows:—"Anno DCCCCXLI Olilaf, vastata ecclesia Sancti Baltheri et incensa Tiningaham, mox periit. Unde Eboracenses Lindisfarnensem insulam depopulati sunt, et multos occiderunt. Filius vero Sihtrici, nomine Onlaf, regnavit super Northanhymbros." This seems to show that until the death of Olilaf, Olaf Sitricsson did not reign in Northumbria, and that the Onlaf mentioned in the year 940 was the same as the Olilaf killed in Northumbria in 941. If this be so, we may take it that Olaf Godfreyson is the Olilaf of Simeon of Durham, and also the Onlaf who divided the kingdom with Edmund. Dr. Todd takes the view that Olilaf is Olaf Godfreyson, though he understands the Onlaf of 940 to be Sitricsson. He gives Olilaf's death as at Tynningham, whereas Simeon's account points to a place on the return journey, probably on the mainland opposite Lindisfarne, for the death took place *mox*, shortly after the destruction of Tynningham, and the men of the York district took vengeance of the men of Lindisfarne. But the point which is of special interest for us is that these York men thought enough of the King to go north, and punish people for killing him; if they would do that, they would bring his body southwards to be buried.

Now, in considering what was a likely place for a Danish King of Northumbria to have as a favourite abode, we have to remember that he was a King of Dublin too, and must have held himself in readiness to make a speedy journey to that kingdom. Chester was his port, and a reference to a map indicating the ancient roads shows that the road from Chester to Northumbria ran in a straight line from the sea-port to a place on the Wharfe—no doubt Ilkley, some fifteen miles from Leeds—and thence, turning northwards, to Aldborough. Leeds, therefore, an old royal site, was admirably suited for the residence of either Onlaf; it gave him his speediest access to Dublin, it commanded the road to the north, and it was on the way to York and the Danish settlements beyond. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Eboracenses, as the chief people of the southern part of Onlaf's Anglian kingdom, took upon themselves the quest of vengeance in the north, and then had the body buried and the monuments erected at the place of the King's usual abode.

Returning now to the suggestion that the shaft had something to do with some one who claimed some sort of connection with Sigurd, and looking to the pedigree of the two Onlafs which I append, we find that both of them were great-grandsons of Ragnar Lodbrok, *i.e.* Hairybreeks, and that Ragnar married the daughter of Sigurd Fafnesbane. This is a remarkable coincidence, if nothing more. It is possible that there is a connection also with the Völund panel. The adviser of Sigurd in the whole matter of the slaying of Fafner and the recovery of the great mass of gold which the serpent-man had guarded, was Reginn, the King's smith, a craftsman as famous for his skill as even Völund himself. It is remarkable if the two great smiths in the Sagas are really independent of one another. The surmise is not unnatural that Reginn is only Völund over again, at a different era. A learned Scandinavian friend, Mr. E. Magnusson, assures me that my guess is not unreasonable.

If all of these links are sound, we have in the Leeds shaft a monument which stood at one end of Olaf Godfreyson's grave, the other end being occupied by the pillar of which the "King Onlaf" fragment formed part. The shaft bore a representation of the King's great-great-grandfather, and of the mythical hero through whom that far-off ancestor acquired the treasure which has been immortalised both in the heroic lays of the older Edda and in the Nibelungenlied. The shaft was of Anglian workmanship, though erected for a Dane, being entirely without the characteristic features which mark the early Scandinavian work.

PEDIGREE OF KING ANLAF.

Sigurd Fafnesbane

Ragnar Lodbrok = Aslanga

Ivar Beinlaus

founded Danish kingdom of Dublin, and thence conquered Northumbria, he and Olaf the White having in 869 killed Kings Osbriht and Ella, and taken York.

A nameless son

Sihtric, King of Dublin, forced to leave Dublin in 920, came to Mercia and plundered Davenport

Godfrey

Onlaf the Red, King of Dublin; King of Northumbria, 941-945. At battle of Tara, 980, Malachy conquered him, and he gave up to his son Sihtric, retired to Iona, and died there. He was Onlaf Sihtricsson.

Onlaf Godfreyson, killed soon after plunder of Tynningham, 941, on which "filius Sihtricci, Onlaf, regnavit super Northanhymbros."

ÆLFRIC'S VOCABULARY.

BY E. M. THOMPSON, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., KEEPER OF THE MSS.,
BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Read 15th April 1885.)

THE only manuscript authority which has been available, in recent times, of Ælfric's Vocabulary or Glossary, is the copy made in the seventeenth century by or for Francis Young (Junius) from an ancient MS. which belonged to Rubens the painter, but which is no longer known to exist. This transcript is preserved, with the rest of the Junius MSS., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Junius's transcript is evidently faulty; but whether the faults are due to carelessness in copying, or already existed in Rubens' MS., cannot, of course, be decided. The existence, however, of many of the same errors in an early MS. which has lately come to light, and which affords the material for the present paper, leads us to infer that the MS. from which Junius took his transcript was also faulty.

The Vocabulary is the work of Ælfric, styled "Grammaticus", Abbot successively of Cerne and Eynsham at the beginning of the eleventh century, to be distinguished from the Archbishop of Canterbury of the same name, with whom, however, he has been confounded. The Vocabulary, with its so-called supplement, was first printed at the end of Somner's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (1659). It was next published by Thomas Wright in his *Volume of Vocabularies* in the "Library of National Antiquities" of Joseph Mayer (1857); and it has been recently recollated and printed by R. P. Wülcker in his re-edition of Wright's *Vocabularies* (1884).

When, at the beginning of last year, a fragmentary MS. of the eleventh century was placed in my hands, having in the margins a series of Latin and Anglo-Saxon glosses which a brief inspection showed to be Ælfric's Vocabulary, it was natural to suppose that Rubens' long lost MS. had at length emerged into light. Collation,

however, with the printed text soon proved that this was not the case. The MS. differs not only often in the words, but also frequently in their arrangement; and its discovery is, therefore, for the text, of greater importance than even the recovery of the Rubens MS. would have been.

The MS., which was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, and is now numbered Additional MS. 32,246, contains twenty-four quarto leaves, twenty-three of which are occupied by portion of a Latin treatise on Latin grammar, imperfect both at beginning and end, and wanting a leaf after the leaf now numbered 7 and a quire or more after f. 15. Some glosses and short commentaries in Latin were written here and there in the margins or between the lines. The margins which were not so occupied were subsequently filled with the Vocabulary, which extends down to the end of f. 15. On the margin of the next leaf begins a portion of the Latin version of Ælfric's Colloquy, "Tu, pistor, dic nobis", etc., which breaks off with the opening words of the answer to the question, "Tu, puer, quid fecisti hodie?" *R.* "Multas res et diversas feci.....ecclesiam properando intravi." Next, on f. 17b, is added the supplement to the Vocabulary; thus divided from the Vocabulary itself by intervening matter, just as appears to have been the case in the MS. of Rubens. It is quite evident from this description that the fragment which composes the volume has been preserved for the sake of the Vocabulary and its supplement. The lacuna which follows f. 15 does not affect their integrity, although it is probable that the earlier portion of the Colloquy has been thus lost; but unfortunately the missing leaf after f. 7 has caused damage to the Vocabulary.

The first leaf, which was a fly-leaf, contains a copy of Latin elegiacs addressed by Herbert the priest, who claims "Francia" as his native country, to a certain Abbot Wulfgar.¹ The writing of the MS., although by different hands, is practically all of one period, perhaps a little earlier than the middle of the eleventh century; and, although the book contains so much that should con-

¹ Recently printed by Prof. Dümmler in *Neues Archiv*, x, p. 351.

nect it with England, it appears, from the character of the writing, to belong probably to northern France or Flanders. This view is supported by the internal evidence of the Vocabulary, which has blunders which could hardly have been committed by an Englishman. Such an error, for example, as "hlaʹord", for the common everyday English word "hlaforð", could hardly have been written down by a native scribe; and the numerous instances, noted below, of confusion of letters of somewhat similar shape afford abundant proof of ignorance of the English alphabet. As the MS. is written not very long after Ælfric's period, it may be presumed that his Vocabulary was soon well-known and sought after on the Continent as well as in England, and even that the present copy was made for the use of English monks living in some foreign house, and perhaps copied by one who had forgotten, or had only half learned, his mother tongue.

A comparison of the text of the MS. with the printed text of Ælfric's Vocabulary proves, as already stated, that they are not identical. Besides the differences which are noted below, the arrangement of the words varies in some places very considerably. Sometimes one has to seek for a word in the MS. whole pages apart from its position in the printed text; sometimes whole series or sections of words follow quite another order. The MS. omits several words which appear in print, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, as, for example, from *Plegus* to *Enerris*;¹ and the loss of the leaf after f. 7 has deprived our MS. of some two hundred words and equivalents. On the other hand, the MS. contains words which are not found in the printed text, and which I have therefore given below. But with all these differences it is clear that both MSS., the Additional MS. and the Rubens MS., had a common origin. The particular blunders which are found in both show this; and, still more, the defective entry, "*Amolium*, dust of *ðæm*"....which occurs in both.

I now give the results of a collation which I have made of the Add. MS. with the Vocabulary as it appears in Wright's text, 2nd edition, 1882, corrected by reference

¹ Wright, pp. 45, 46.

to Wülcker's re-edition. In the first place, the following words are not found in Junius's transcript :

<i>Di[c]tator</i> , ælces pinges dihtnere	<i>Gurgustio</i> , ecolor <i>vel</i> protbolla
<i>Senatus consultus</i> , gesipa duguþ	<i>Palus</i> , wederblac
<i>Fidci commissum</i> , on trywe ge- lætan	<i>Seprocanus</i> , <i>vel</i> semicanus, healf- har
<i>Mensorium</i> , disc	<i>Canus</i> , fullhar
<i>Sicera</i> , ælces kynnes drenc buton wine and wætere	<i>Radius</i> , brun
<i>Polipedium filix</i> , efer fearn	<i>Viscera</i> , þearmas
<i>Contribulus</i> , <i>id est</i> propinquus ex una tribu, an cneores	<i>Enula</i> , pærl
<i>Concinnatio</i> , <i>id est</i> compositio, set- ting	<i>Taumata</i> , <i>vel</i> miracula, wundra
<i>Creagra</i> , <i>id est</i> tridens, awel	<i>Jactura</i> , lyre
<i>Comicus</i> , sceop	<i>Rostrata navis</i> quam demonem vocat, arcum rostrum habet, barþa
<i>Sectra</i> [<i>scuta</i>], ealleþern scyldas	<i>Cimba</i> , scip
<i>Dolones</i> , picas	<i>Sororius</i> , suster sune
<i>Agger</i> , ufwurd stræt	<i>Pronepos</i> , þridde sune
<i>Luctus</i> , torwung	<i>Proneptis</i> , þridde dohter
<i>Galearium</i> , fellen hæf	<i>Devium</i> , wegles
<i>Spinther</i> , preon	<i>Arala</i> , heorð <i>vel</i> fir panne
<i>Crusta</i> , rinda	<i>Princeps consiliarius</i> , yldest ræd- bora
<i>Fermentum</i> <i>vel</i> zima, beorma	<i>Serinium</i> , hordfæt
<i>Os</i> , buca, muð	<i>Primiserin</i> [ar]ius, yldest burpen
<i>Articulus</i> , lið <i>vel</i> fingerlið	<i>Fundamentum</i> , grundsetl

Next follows a series of various readings, in many of which the Add. MS. improves upon those of Junius ; but it is only right to remember that some of the errors of the latter text may be due to false copying, and not to the original MS. of Rubens.

WRIGHT.

Fimus, dinig (p. 15)
Traha, cipe
Stimulus, ga[d]
Aculeus, sticel
Bobellum, falt (p. 16)
Cerimonia, geldagas
Heresis, kyre *vel* gedwelo-æfter-
felgund
Redimicula, kævinge
Astrologus, *vel* magus, *vel* mathe-
maticus, tungelwitega, gebyrd-
wiglære (p. 17)
Puerperium, hyse-berðlinge

ADD. MS. 32,246.

dung
eipe
ga
sticels
fald
gelddagas
Heresis, kyre, *vel* gedweld. *Secta*,
id est religio, æfterfelgund
kævinge
Astrologus, *vel* magus, tungel-
witega, geberd-wihlære, *vel*
mathematicus, geberdwiglære
h.-berðlinge

WRIGHT.

ADD. MS. 32,246.

<i>Ciliarcus</i> , þusendes-caldor	þ. caldorman
<i>Alæ</i> , fedes (p. 18)	feþe
<i>Mercedarii</i> , hyne-gildan	hyre-g.
<i>Vafer</i> , abroten	alroþen
<i>Clivosus</i> , clifig, to-hyld (p. 19)	clifig <i>vel</i> ohyld
<i>Yleos</i> , hrif-wirc, <i>vel</i> hrig-teung	hrifwere, <i>vel</i> hrifteung, <i>vel</i> hrif- adl
<i>Orificium</i> , ðyr	þyrl
<i>Catapodia</i> , swylfende doenc (p. 20)	swylfende d.
<i>Crcio</i> , yrfe-fyrt	yrfefyrt
<i>Familie</i> , yrfe-gedal	yrfe gedáal
<i>Sacramentum</i> , aþe-gehat	aðgehat
<i>Majestatis reus</i> , wið cyning for- wyr (p. 21)	w. c. forwyrht
<i>Nervi</i> , fot-copsa	fofcopsas
<i>Postliminium</i> , edeyr of spræc- siðe	e. of wræcsiðe
<i>Sacrilegium</i> , godes fees ðeof	g. feos ð.
<i>Instrumentum</i> , gewroht	<i>Instructum</i> , geworht
<i>Bicoca</i> , pun	pur
<i>Contieinium</i> , cwyld-tid	cwyldtid
<i>Comitia</i> , wyrd-sciras	wyrþsciras
<i>Quitinas</i> , milscre treowa bloşman (p. 22)	m. t. bloşman
<i>Fera</i> , wild-deor	wildeor
<i>Jumentum</i> , hryofif (p. 23)	hwyofif
<i>Faussarius</i> , steþa	steda
<i>Oestrum</i> , beaw-hyrnette	beaw, b. hyrnette
<i>Gurgulu</i> , cawel wurm (p. 24)	<i>gurgulio</i> , cawel wiorm
<i>Pulex</i> , fleo	flea
<i>Blatta</i> , eor-wiega	earwiega
<i>Tauri</i> , eorð-caferas	e. ceaperas
<i>Alabastrum</i> , stænen cle-fæt	stæne e.
<i>Cratera</i> , carde fæt	earede f.
<i>Sartago</i> , dyrsting panne (p. 25)	hyrsting p.
<i>Glomus</i> , clýpen (p. 26)	<i>globus</i> , clýwen
<i>Callicula</i> , rocc	socc
<i>Subtalares</i> , swiftelearas	swyftlearas
<i>Talarcs</i> , unhege sceos	u. scos
<i>Succidia</i> , eald hryter flæsc (p. 27)	e. hryþer flæ[s]c
<i>Colostrum</i> , byst	bystine
<i>Irriguum</i> , wæto (p. 28)	wæter
<i>Malva</i> , malwe, <i>vel</i> geormen-letic (p. 31)	maluwe, <i>vel</i> g. leaf
<i>Eruca</i> , calf-wyrt	cuff wyrn
<i>Tinctura</i> , teging (p. 32)	deging
<i>Sirculus</i> , sprauta	spraica

WRIGHT.

ADD. MS. 32,246.

<i>Marica</i> , hæð (p. 33)	hæð
<i>Amurca</i> , eles drosna	ele d.
<i>Coclea</i> , gewend (p. 34)	gewind
<i>Conspiratio</i> , geewidrædden	forbod, geewierædden
<i>Cassis</i> , iren helm (p. 35)	isen helm
<i>Civile bellum</i> , burware gefeoht	burhware g.
<i>Funda</i> , lyðre	lithere
<i>Hasta</i> , getridwet spere	getridwed s.
<i>Amentum</i> , wegures gerið-spere	w. gewriðspere
<i>Erebum</i> , helle-sceað (p. 36)	helleseað
<i>Arx</i> , se hihsta wig-hus	þæt h. w.
<i>Cocleæ</i> (<i>cloaca</i>), adul-seaþe	a. seaþ
<i>Dirortia</i> , mistlice woge wegas (p. 37)	mislice w. w.
<i>Orbita</i> , wænes weð	w. sweð
<i>Momentana</i> , wytle-wæga (p. 38)	lytle w.
<i>Tramasericum</i> , seolcen ab (p. 40)	s. a. <i>vel</i> linen wearp
<i>Segmentata vestis</i> , geræwen hræ- gel	geræwed r.
<i>Circumtectum</i> , twyndyled reaf	tryndled r.
<i>Dapcs</i> , keninga wist (p. 41)	kininga w.
<i>Nonna</i> , arwurðe wurdewe (p. 42)	arwu[r]ðe wudewe
<i>Animus</i> , gefenc	geþanc
<i>Vultus</i> , anwlita	andwlita
<i>Odor</i> , breð	bryþ
<i>Yrqui</i> , beah-hyrne (p. 43)	heah h.
<i>Pinnula</i> , ufwaard eare	ufweard e.
<i>Fauces</i> , bracan	hracan
<i>Medicus vel annularis</i> , gold-finger (p. 44)	læce and g. f.
<i>Pori</i> , pic-þeotan	lic þ.
<i>Frontalis</i> , <i>vel calidus</i> , steornede (p. 45)	steorrede
<i>Podagricus</i> , deagwyrmede	deawwyrmede
<i>Discolor</i> , mistlic bleo (p. 46)	mislic b.
<i>Diploma</i> , bod on cine	boga on c.
<i>Secdula</i> , ymle	ynele
<i>Stultomalus</i> , yfel-dysig (p. 47)	yfele d.
<i>Mas</i> , hys cild (p. 50)	hyse c.
<i>Galos</i> , glos, swere swuster	weres s.
<i>Sponsalia</i> , brytofta, <i>vel</i> brydgifa	brytgifta, <i>vel</i> brydegifa
<i>Paranymphus</i> , dryhtguma ¹	brydguma
<i>Unienba</i> , anligere wifman	anlegere w.
<i>Derisio</i> , tæl-hlehter (p. 51)	tallhlehter
<i>Abstineus</i> , syfer	syfre
<i>Studium</i> , bigegnes	bigengnes

¹ So corrected from *brydguma* by Wülcker.

WRIGHT.

ADD. MS. 32,246.

<i>Cognati</i> , meddern magas	meddren m.
<i>Propinquus</i> , mæs	mæg
<i>Fratres patruces</i> , fiederon sunan (p. 52)	fæderan s.
<i>Sobrini</i> , gewusterenu bearn	gewustrenu b.
<i>Amita mea magna</i> , minra faða moder	minre faþan m.
<i>Crepusculum</i> , tweone leoht <i>vel</i> deorung (p. 53)	dægred, <i>vel</i> t. l., <i>vel</i> þeorung
<i>Æstus</i> , <i>vel</i> cauma, swoloð	swopel, <i>vel</i> hæte
<i>Monticellus</i> , beorh unfeweard (p. 54)	b. ufeweard
<i>Imperito</i> , ic wealdige	ic wealde
<i>Habilis conjunctio</i> , gedafenlic se- odnys	gedafenling þeodiny
<i>Secma locutionis</i> , spece wise (p. 55)	sprece w.
<i>Scalpus</i> , seig (p. 56)	seigl
<i>Mensularius</i> , pennig-hwyrfer (p. 57)	pening h.
<i>Popina</i> , snæding-hus (p. 58)	sneading h.
<i>Zenodochium</i> , gif-hus	gisthus
<i>Polymita</i> , <i>vel</i> obiculata, wingfah (p. 59)	<i>Polimita</i> , <i>vel</i> orbiculata, wingfah, <i>vel</i> trudie
<i>Tisiphona</i> , wælcyrre (p. 60)	wælcyrre
<i>Pigmæus</i> , dweorg (p. 61)	dweorh
<i>Siliquastrum</i> , fipsercyte setl	fipsercyte sotel

In the following words the MS. differs from the printed text in writing :—

<i>a</i> for <i>e</i> : ælmessæ, ræplinge, oð- ræs, æwærde (for awerde), syn- wrænnys, fægh, þræd, wæpen græg, wærhades (for werhad), læsta, weohlære	<i>e</i> for <i>eo</i> : cnew
<i>e</i> for <i>æ</i> : dægmeles, mæte (for mæt), messe, sprece	<i>e</i> for <i>i</i> : gecend
<i>i</i> for <i>y</i> : kining, wið, kinnes, wirhte, gristle, lire, ilean, ge- nihtsumnys	<i>e</i> for <i>u</i> : scamel
<i>y</i> for <i>i</i> : getrymmed, gecwyde, behryng, þry, smylting, þyfe, trywen, pyle, gegylde, adryfen, hlyta	<i>e</i> for <i>y</i> : sedwyrn, hæd
<i>a</i> for <i>e</i> : brocan	<i>eo</i> for <i>i</i> : geedncowod
<i>e</i> for <i>u</i> : easten, menisc	<i>i</i> for <i>u</i> : hyrding, rihting, cliof- ing, migging
<i>e</i> for <i>ca</i> : eg	<i>o</i> for <i>a</i> : geprocen
	<i>o</i> for <i>e</i> : ealdor
	<i>u</i> for <i>a</i> : midlu, stiward
	<i>u</i> for <i>e</i> : wure
	<i>u</i> for <i>ea</i> : middewurd
	<i>u</i> for <i>o</i> : geolu
	<i>y</i> for <i>e</i> : byrgen
	<i>e</i> for <i>cy</i> : spiwine, lencten
	<i>e</i> for <i>g</i> : lenctenlic
	<i>gc</i> for <i>y</i> : gewengre, micgca

k for *c* : *kylm*
d for *t* : *stræd*, *asend*
t for *d* : *etgrowing*
t for *ft* : *ymlhweort*, *ymlhweort*
tt for *ft* : *fittiga*, *switta*
d for *dd* : *reade*
f for *ff* : *ofrung*
t for *ll* : *ful*, *burhweal*
n for *un* : *cyning*, *westan*

t for *tt* : *butor*
bb for *b* : *webb*
dd for *d* : *wedd*, *gesydd*
ii for *i* : *liim*
ll for *l* : *helle*, *soll*, *weall*
nn for *n* : *oferflowennes*
oo for *o* : *soott*
ss for *s* : *gesetness*, *hnyssce*
tt for *t* : *nett*

The following variations also occur :—*gesetenysse* for *gesetnysse*, *ymclippe* for *ymlclipe*, *þan æfran* for *þam æfteran*, *eiung* for *ciwung*, *wineard* for *wingearð*, *weofde* for *weofode*, *yrfewearnes* for *yrfeweardnes*, *egslic* for *egeslic*, *hreaf* for *hreaw*.

The letter *n* is accidentally omitted in—*inle[n]da*, *in[n]ga*, *upstande[n]de*, *leorni[n]g*, *unsprece[n]de*.

The letter *h* is omitted in—*[h]ringee*, *[h]laf*, *wyr[h]ta*, *[h]us*.

Errors occur from confusion of letters of somewhat similar form—in *myole* for *mycle*, *colo* for *colt*, *larf* for *laur*, *legen* for *leger*, *swic* for *spic*, *wita* for *sita*, *pilewe* for *pilere*, *hweal* for *þweal*, *hringe* for *hringe*, *fæc* for *sæc*, *sneowung* for *sneosung*, *hlarord* for *hlaforð*, *þruh* for *þruh*, *urine* for *frine*, *leaf* for *leap*, *seccra* for *seocra*, *hus* for *huf*, *read* for *reod*, *ungehæplic* for *ungeþæslie*.

By transposition of letters we have—*floc* for *folc*, *clid* for *cild*, *þæng* for *þæg*.

By carelessly dropping the endings of words the scribe has written—*lite* for *litel*, *seol* for *seole*, *sta* for *stan*, *bleo* for *bleoh*, *wæst* for *wæstm*, *hræg* for *hrægel*, *ta* for *tan*, *þear* for *þearf*, *næg* for *nægl*, *ran* for *rand*.

By copying wrong words he has given—*Centaurus*, *healf man* *vel* *healf assa* ; *Ciliarcus*, *pusendrica* ; *Pistor*, *bæcern*.

Other blunders are :—*inbyrdlitig* for *inbirdling*, *hniwol* for *hntol*, *hræung* for *hræcing*, *wyrns spiung* for *wyrut-spiung*, *unhelz* for *unhela*, *lin* for *lin*, *balsnite* for *balsminte*, *fisc* for *fic*, *kynne* for *kynnes*, *unsedað* for *unscreðað*, *gefen* for *gewefen*, *orl* for *or*, *fort* for *forst*, *casere* for *caseres*, *bærc* for *bæe*, *fitel* for *litel*, *ceorlic* for *ceorlisc*, *þrystru* for *ðystru*, *æftæwærd* for *æfterwærd*, *scipe* for *scip*, *sæmæst* for *se mæsta*, *fýning* for *fýnig*, *beodder* for

beodern, hæp *for* hearp, æhtnunge *for* æhtunge, scean *for* scearn.

As our principal interest lies in the Anglo-Saxon renderings of the words of the Vocabulary, there is no present necessity to critically examine the Latin terms. It will be enough to note that in many instances they are barbarously corrupt. Many of them are also provided with Greek equivalents, as in Junius's transcript ; and in addition there are some Greek equivalents in our MS. which do not appear to have existed in the Rubens MS., as,—*quisquiliæ*, *peripipsima* ; *cælum*, *uranon* ; *mundus*, *cosmus* ; *homo*, *antropos* ; *anima*, *psichi* ; *auris*, *ota* ; *dentes*, *odontes* ; *mentum*, *hnes* (*γενειάς*) ; *nervi*, *neura* ; *genu*, *conu* ; *pes*, *pos* ; *cor*, *cardian* ; *limpha*, *hydor*.

SOME ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SOUTH PART OF PEMBROKESHIRE.

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(*Read 4 March 1885.*)

AFTER a careful search among the forty-six thousand deeds in the British Museum, I am only able to find about a dozen and a half which relate directly to that south-west portion of Pembrokeshire which was during last autumn the scene of the labours of the British Archæological Association. But the topographical interest of the charters in question goes far to compensate for their paucity in numbers; and the manner in which the modern names of farms and even homesteads reappear, without the slightest change of spelling, goes far to prove how little alteration has taken place in Little England beyond Wales during the last seven hundred years. The first document to which I propose to draw your attention this evening relates to the county town of Pembroke itself, a town whose municipal records are wholly lost, having been sent up to London at the time of the Great Exhibition in 1851, where they mysteriously disappeared, and whence they have never returned.

1. The deed in question is a confirmation by Stephen, son and heir of Maurice Bermund, of a gift by his father to Aline his sister (a Christian name, by the way, still to be found in the neighbourhood, as borne by Lady Victoria Lambton's only daughter) of a messuage in the town of Pembroke. This messuage is described as lying on the western side of the Church of St. Mary at Pembroke. Those of my hearers who accompanied the Congress last September will readily remember St. Mary's Church, standing in the centre of the town, about one hundred yards to the east of the Castle, so that this messuage must have occupied the site of the present "Dark Lane", or high road to Pembroke Dock. The rent service is a pair of white gloves or (*i.e.*, equal in value to) one half-

penny, payable yearly on Michaelmas Day. The witnesses are John FitzDavid and Nicholas Methelan, then *Præpositi* of Pembroke, with others of less note. The charter is of the date of Henry III.

The next two documents are dated at Angle, a pretty little angling village, consisting of one long street, whose fishermen's chapel, priest's tower, and early dovecot, were visited by the Congress on the first day after their opening meeting. The ruins of the mansion of the Sherborne family, who are mentioned in these deeds, are still prominent on the south side of the main street, but were not visited that day for lack of time.

2. The first charter is a grant from Philip, son and heir of Stephen de Angle, to Robert de Syrburne, of a messuage and lands in Angle. Also the demesnes and services of Nicholas de Karren (*i.e.*, Carew), of Henry Beneger (Beneger's town, now Bangerston, is still in a ruinous state on the sloping hill above Angle village), of Thomas David, of Stephen Bron, of Walter de Bromhille (Broomhill is still the name of a farm in the parish), of William de Rupe (now Roch, a family still haunting the next parish of Rhos-Crowther), of Walter de Syrburne, of John Alexander, of Alexander de Middilhille (another farm still in Angle), of Philip Hert, and of Robert de Kneth (Neath is now a farm in Rhos-Crowther parish), for their lands in Angle. To be held with all appurtenances, including "*wreccum maris*", evidently a most valuable gift in those early days of no charts and no lighthouses on that iron-bound coast. In case of Robert de Syrburne dying without male issue, the above lands, demesnes, and services are to remain to Joan (Robert's daughter), wife of Robert de Castro (*i.e.*, either Castlemartin, or more probably Castleton, five miles east of Angle on the high road to Pembroke). Witnesses: Sir Richard de Stakepole and Sir David Wryot, Walter de Hilton (a farm adjoining Rhos-Crowther Church), and others. Dated at Angle, on Tuesday next after the Purification, 1 Edward I, A.D. 1272.

3. The second charter relating to Angle is a grant from the same Philip de Angulo to William de Rupe, of all his land in the holdings of Angle, together with the dowry of his mother Isabella, and Sepin Ilond (now called

Sheep Island, at the mouth of Milford Haven on the east side), and of all his rents from his windmill at Angle. (The ruins of this fortified windmill are still to be seen in a field on the hill above Angle, and are haunted by the last miller, who was murdered, and whose house was burnt about one hundred years ago.) Among the privileges here granted is again that of "wreccum". Witnesses: John de Neuborth (Narberth) then seneschal of Pembroke, Robert de Syrburne, then sheriff, Sir Nicholas de Kareu, Sir Gilbert de Rupe, Sir Richard de Stakepole, Sir John de Barj, David Malefont of Upton Castle, and others. Dated at Angle, on the Feast of the Purification, A.D. 1298.

4. Then we have a deed referring to a part of Pembrokeshire unvisited by the Congress, lying between Milford and Dale, and therefore needing but brief description, although the boundaries therein noted are still easily traceable, the names, as I before remarked, having undergone little or no change. It is a grant from Walter Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, to Gilbert de Valle, of land at St. Ishmael's (a parish on the north shore of Milford Haven). Witnesses: Guy de Brian, David de Barry, Walter de Hereford (*alias* Haverford, a common blunder in all charters), John de Rupe, Richard Haralde (Haroldston is close by), Henry Herbrand (Herbrandston is the next parish), John de S'ca Brigida (St. Bride's Bay is some way off on the west), and others. Without date, but written between A.D. 1242 and 1246.

5. The next deed also relates to the same locality, and is a grant from Gilbert Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, to the same Gilbert de Valle, of the mill of St. Ishmael's, and one carucate of land adjoining. Also the stream of Corslery, to make a fishery to catch eels (Cors, in Welsh, equals Weald in English). Witnesses: Lord Walter Marshall, Lord Anselm Marshall, William Crassus the elder, and others. Without date, but written between 1234 and 1242.

6. The following document is a covenant between Sir John de Barry, son and heir of Sir David de Barry, on the one side, and Dame Katherine de Geynvill, Prioress of Cornebure, or rather Acornbury, and the convent, co. Hereford, on the other side, to wit, that when

the prioress and convent shall have succeeded in obtaining to their own use the advowson of the church of Pennaly, or Penalley (the picturesque village on the inland cliff, just a mile to the south-west of Tenby), from that time they shall be bound to provide at their own costs one chaplain in Penalley Church, to pray for the souls of the said Sir John and of Dame Beatrice his wife, during life, and to celebrate their obits after decease yearly in their choir with full music. On default of the convent so acting, their goods and chattels shall, throughout the county of Hereford, be distrained upon, with a reward of half a mark to the person so distraining. Dated at Acornbury, 1st April, A.D. 1301. (It should not be forgotten that these De Barrys were lords of Manorbere Castle in the adjoining parish to Penalley.)

7. The next few charters relate to the hundred of Castlemartin, and are inspeximus of records remaining in the treasury of the Earls of Pembroke. The first is an inspeximus by William de la Pole, Marquess of Suffolk and Earl of Pembroke, Grand Chamberlain of England, of records in his treasury relating to Prickerston, in Castlemartin parish (close to and visible from the large barrow so kindly opened for the Congress by Colonel Lambton of Brownslade on the first day of excursions), where then lived Philip Pricker and Isolda or Yseult his wife, who surrender their lands in Castlemartin into the hands of Marie de St. Pol, then Countess of Pembroke, to be regranted them for life, with remainder to Henry their son and Joan his wife, except four acres, which are to be at once transferred to the said Henry and Joan. The inspeximus is dated at Pembroke on 19th May, 26 Henry VI, A.D. 1447.

8. We may next place an Inspeximus by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, of a foot fine, the parties being Sir Richard Cradok and John Perrot, plaintiffs, and Alice, widow of Thomas Carpenter of Haverford, deforciant, and the land in question being three acres and a half, called "Le Parke", in Monkton, by Pembroke, and the fine being twelve shillings of yearly rent. Dated at Pembroke, 28th April, 36 Henry VI, A.D. 1457.

9. The following document also relates to Monkton, though of nearly a hundred years later datē. Cardinal

Wolsey and Archbishop Warham release the executors of Elizabeth Newton, of the Order of the Pall and the Ring, late of Monkton, from furnishing any account of their executorship, they having already sent in an inventory of the goods of the deceased, and having been at the expense of burying her. (Of this Order of the Pall and the Ring I have never previously heard, nor can I find any information about it.) Dated at London, 29th August, A.D. 1524.

10. The succeeding charter is a grant from John Fitzmaurice to Adam, son of Hugh Cole, of all his land in the holding of Reddewalles in Rodival. (Where Rodival is I am at a loss to say, unless it be the valley called Rose Valley, that runs from Lamphey to Pembroke.) To be held of Sarah, daughter of William Fulebeche. Witnesses: Tancard de Rupe, Philip Cole, Walter le Wel, and others. Undated, but of the time of Henry III.

11. The next deed is a grant from David de Rupe, lord of Landegumme and Maenclochog, to Whitland Abbey, of commonage of pasture for their animals over his whole land of Pressely, and other mountainous and waste places. (The members of the Congress cannot fail to remember the Prescelau Mountains, which were visible during all their excursions throughout Little England beyond Wales.) To last for seven years, beginning at Michaelmas, A.D. 1303. During this period their customary rent of two shillings is lowered to one penny. Dated at Whitland on the day before Allhalloween, 1303.

12. Another document is a power of attorney from Alice, widow of Richard Penvey of Haverford, to Richard Newton, apprentice to the law, Robert Turbut and John Couyntre, merchants of Haverford, to act in her place as executrix of the will of her late husband. But because her seal is generally unknown, she has begged that in addition to it should be appended the seal of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Pembroke and Chamberlain of England, as used in his Chancery at Pembroke. Which request of his tenant, the said Alice, Duke Humphrey graciously complies with. Dated 5th April, 2 Henry VI, A.D. 1424.

13. The next deed is an inspeximus by Sir Roland Leynt-hall, Lord of Haverford, of a foot fine among the records

in his treasury. The parties being Richard Cradok and Emma his wife, plaintiffs, and John, son of John Lange of Pembroke, John Cryppin, and John Vyssher and Katerine his wife, deforciant. The land in question being five messuages and two carucates of land in South Hill. Dated at Haverford, 1st April, 8 Henry VI (1429).

14. The succeeding charter relates to the Isle of Skokholm, which lies so picturesquely at the south of the entrance to St. Bride's Bay, and which, like many other places on the coast, still retains its Scandinavian name. William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, grants to Gilbert de Valle (already mentioned in these charters as owning land at St. Ishmael's), in exchange for his land at Mamardeyvi and the island of Scogholm, fifteen carucates of land with one mill in Balikaruell in Ireland. Witnesses: Sir William Grassus, Sen., Sir Hamon Grassus, Sir Henry de Braybof, Sir William de Rodona, Sir Roger de Hida, Sir Roger de Sutton, Sir Franco Theutonicus, Benedict the clerk, Godfrey the clerk, and many others. Undated, but written between 1219-31.

15. Another deed is a quit-claim from Roger, son of Lord Henry de Mortuo Mari (*i.e.*, Mortimer), to Sir Thomas de Rupe (Roche) of a carucate of land at Pulla Rodifal (Pwl or Pill is the local name for an estuary), formerly held by Robert the miller. (This Rodifal Pill is probably the Rose Valley Pill, which runs up the south side of Pembroke town, from the west of Pembroke Castle, towards Lamphey, and is now a wide marsh.) Witnesses: Sir John de Castro Martini (Castlemartin), then Seneschal of Pembroke, Sir William de Caumvil, Sir Gilbert de Rupe, and Sir Edmund Gascelin, Walter Malefaunte (of Upton Castle), John de Castro (Castleton, near Orierton), and others. Undated, but *circ. temp.* Henry III.

16. The next is a quit-claim from Philip, son of Thomas Martin, the fuller of Gilbertsford, to Thomas de Rupe, Lord of Rupe (Roche Castle, on the way from St. David's to Haverfordwest), of the fuller's mill, with houses and lands adjoining in the holding at Gilbertsford. (Where this place lies I am unable to say, but it is probably in the vicinity of Roche Castle.) With licence to quarry stones, make water-courses, and build mills at his pleasure in

Gilbertsford. Witnesses: Sir William Martin, Sir Gilbert de Rupe, William de Bruere, then Seneschal of Penbidiane (I do not know this town), John Beneger, then Seneschal of Pembroke (this Beneger, a branch of the Benegers of Angle already noticed, lived at Benegerston, now Bangerston, near Pembroke Dock, the seat of Sir Thomas Meyrick, Bart., late M.P. for Pembroke), Adam de Waleshoke, and others. Undated, but written *temp.* Henry III.

17. The last document of this most valuable and interesting series is an *inspeximus* by William de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), Chiualer (Warden of the Earldom of Pembroke by Royal Grant, on account of the minority of John, son and heir of John de Hastynges, late Earl of Pembroke), of records in his treasury at Pembroke, touching the inheritance of Thomas Crippyn, son of Richard Crippyn of South Hill in Roos. (Roos is the name of the hundred next to Castlemartin hundred), who claims against John Crippyn, chaplain, a carucate of land in Merlynch. Several suits relating to this land are then quoted, of which the earliest is dated Tuesday after the feast of St. Edmund, 57 Henry III (an utterly impossible date, as Henry III did not live to see such a date). The suits are chiefly of the Crippyns and the lords of Stackpole Elidor (the seat of the now Earls of Cawdor, where the Congress paid a lengthened visit on the third day of the meeting). The *inspeximus* is dated at Pembroke, 6th January, 10 Richard II, A.D. 1386.

[No. I.]

Add. Ch. 19,136.

Notum sit omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris. Quod ego Stephanus filius et heres Mauricii Bermund ratificavi concessi et confirmavi donum dilecti patris mei Mauricii Bermund de uno mesuagio in villa Pembr[ochiæ] quod dedit Alinæ sorori meæ, quod quidem mesuagium jacet in occidentali parte ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Pembr[ochiæ]. Habendum et tenendum dictum messuagium dictæ Alinæ sorori meæ et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis, libere quiete et bene et in pace inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis ipsa et heredes [suæ] unum par albarum cyrotecarum vel unum obolum. In festo Sancti Michaelis pro omnibus. Ego vero Stephanus et heredes mei warantizare tene-mur dictum mesuagium prædictæ Alinæ et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas inperpetuum. Et ut hæc mea ratificatio

concessio et confirmatio rata et stabilis inperpetuum permaneat, præsentibus litteris sigillum meum apposui.

Hiis testibus, Johanne filio David, Nicholao Methelan, tunc præpositis Pembr[ochiæ], Willelmo Martin, Stephano filio David, Henrico Methelan, Willelmo filio Willelmi filii Hugonis, Willelmo Russel et aliis.

[No. 2.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 14.*

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Philippus filius et heres Stephani de Angulo pro me et heredibus meis dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Roberto de Syrburne vnum mesuagium et duas carucatas, duas bouatas et quinque acras terre cum pertinentiis in Angulo. Habenda et tenenda sibi et heredibus suis uel assignatis de capitalibus dominis feodi, libere, quiete, et hereditarie in perpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim dictis capitalibus dominis redditus et seruicia inde debita et consueta. Dedi eciam eidem Roberto dominium et seruicium Nicholai de Karreu et heredum suorum de decem carucatis terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Henrici Beneger et heredum suorum de sex bouatis terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Thome David et heredum suorum de sex bouatis terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Stephani Bron et heredum suorum de dimidia carucata terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Walteri de Bromhille et heredum suorum de dimidia carucata terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Willelmi de Rupe de sex bouatis terre et heredum suorum in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Walteri de Syrburn et heredum suorum de duabis bouatis terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Johannis Alexandri et heredum suorum de vna acra terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Alexandri de Middilhille et heredum suorum de quadraginta acris terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Philippi Hert et heredum suorum de sex acris terre in Angulo. Et dominium et seruicium Roberti de Kneth et heredum suorum de dimidia carucata terre in Angulo. Habendum et tenendum predictum mesuagium et terram predictam cum dominiis et seruiciis predictis, cum homagiis wardis maritagiiis releuiis feoditatibus escaetis sectis curie wrecco maris communia pasture turbariis et coopertorio et omnibus aliis seruiciis libertatibus vsagiis et aysiamentis dicto mesuagio et terre predictæ intra et extra pertinentibus uel pertinere potentibus in perpetuum. Et si dictus Robertus decedat sine herede masculo de carne sua procreato dictum mesuagium et terra predicta cum dominiis et seruiciis predictis et omnibus aliis pertinentibus ut predictum est remaneant Johanne filie dicti Roberti vxori Roberti de Castro tenendum et habendum sibi et heredibus suis de corpore suo procreatis de capitalibus dominis dicti feodi pro redditibus et seruiciis inde debitis et consuetis. Et si predicta Johanna decedat sine herede de corpore suo procreato predictum mesuagium et terra predicta cum dominiis et seruiciis predictis et omnibus aliis pertinen-

ciis ut predictum est revertantur heredibus dicti Roberti tenenda et habenda sibi et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis dicti feodi pro redditibus et serviciis inde debitis et consuetis . Et ego dictus Philippus et heredes mei dictum mesuagium et terram predictam cum dominiis et serviciis et omnibus et singulis aliis libertatibus et pertinenciis ut predictum est dicto Roberto et heredibus suis uel assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas warentizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum . Et si dictus Robertus decedat sine herede masculo tenemur dicta tenementa warantizare et defendere dicte Johanne et heredibus de corpore suo procreatis contra omnes mortales in perpetuum . Et si dicta Johanna decedat sine heredibus de corpore suo procreatis tenemur dicta tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinenciis ut predictum est warentizare et defendere heredibus dicti Roberti contra omnes mortales in perpetuum . Et vt hec mea donacio concessio et presentis carte mee confirmacio robur firmitatis optineat in perpetuum huic presenti carte mee sigillum meum apposui . Hiis testibus, Dominis Ricardo de Stakepol et David Wryot militibus, Waltero de Hilton, Roberto de Kneth, Johanne Cradok, Johanne de Long, Johanne de Kneth, Philippo de Bromhille et aliis . Datum apud Angulum die Martis proximo post festum purificationis beate virginis anno regni regis Edwardi primo.

[*Endorsed*] Angulus
De Angulo.

[No. 3.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 14.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Philippus de Angulo dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Willelmo de Rupe totam terram meam quam habui in tenemento de Angulo cum suis pertinenciis vna cum dote Isobelle matris mee cum acciderit et quandam insulam que vocatur Sepin Ilond et omnes redditus meos de Angulo tam molendini mei venticii quam omnium hominum meorum cum secta curia et serviciis eorundem sine aliquo retinemento inde michi uel heredibus meis habendam et tenendam dictam terram cum redditibus predictis ut predictum est cum suis pertinenciis dicto Willelmo et heredibus suis uel assignatis de capitali domino feodi sicut mensuratur et eidem Willelmo per certas metas et bundas antiquas assignatur libere quiete bene pacifice hereditarie imperpetuum in pratis in moris in viis in semitis in aquis in pasturis in turbariis in communibus in wrecco in omnibus aysiamentis saluo in omnibus forinseco seruicio capitali domino feodi inde debito et consueto . Ego vero predictus Philippus et heredes mei uel assignati predictam terram cum suis pertinenciis vna cum redditibus predictis predicto Willelmo et heredibus suis uel assignatis contra omnes mortales tenemur warentizare acquietare et defendere in perpetuum . Et ut hec mea donacio concessio et presentis carte mee confirmacio rata et stabilis permaneat in posterum presentem cartam sigilli mei inpressione roborauimus . Hiis testi-

bus Johanne de Neuborth tunc senescallo Penbrochie, Roberto de Syrburne tunc vicecomite, domino Nicholao de Karreu, domino Gilberto de Rupe, domino Ricardo de Stakepole, domino Johanne de Barry militibus, Henrico filio Henrici, Daud de Rupe, Daud Wyriot, Daud Malefont, Willelmus de Creppings, Johanne de Castro, et aliis multis. Datum apud Angulum in festo purificationis beate Marie virginis Anno Domini Millesimo Ducentesimo Nongesimo octauo.

[*Endorsed*] De Angulo.

Carta Philippi de Angulo
Willelmo de Rupe.

[No. 4.]

Add. Ch. 8,413.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Walterus Marescallus comes Penbrochie dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Gilberto de Valle pro homagio et seruicio suo quater viginti acras terre cum pertinenciis in tenemento de sancto Ysmaele que hiis metis includuntur. A diuisis terre dicti Gilberti quam ei dedit Gilbertus Marescallus frater meus quondam comes Penbrochie sicut magna via que tendit de molendino de Malros versus orientem vsque ad metas terre de Hotunia et per easdem metas uersus meridiem usque ad proximum riuulum et sic per illum riuulum versus occidentem usque ad metas dicte terre quam ei dedit predictus Gilbertus Marescallus. Et ex altera parte a littore maris media via inter Thurlemar ye et Rychmarie directe uersus boream usque ad Schorttedich et sic vsque ad quandam semitam que tendit vsque Bothem et sic uersus boream sicut signatum est per fossas lapidibus impletas vsque ad quoddam fossatum et per illud fossatum versus occidentem vsque ad metas terre Gilberti de Hotunia et sic per illas metas versus boream vsque ad proximum riuulum qui descendit de Stonbrechia et sic uersus orientem usque ad metas terre de Biketunia et sic uersus Meridiem sicut dicte mete de Biketunia tendunt ad litus maris. Tenenda et habenda de me et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui, libere et quiete, plenarie, pacifice, honorifice cum omnibus pertinenciis, libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad liberum tenementum pertinentibus, faciendo inde mihi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui vicesimam partem seruicii vnus militis pro omnibus seruiciis exaccionibus secularibus et demandis. Ego vero Walterus Marescallus et heredes mei predictam terram cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis predicto Gilberto et heredibus suis contra omnes mortales warantizabimus in perpetuum. Et vt hec mea donacio et concessio et presentis carte confirmacio rata et stabilis atque inconcussa permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei inpressione roborauimus. Hiis testibus, Nicholao filio Martini, Gwidone de Briana, Daud de Barry, Waltero de Hereford, Johanne de Rupe, Waltero filio Gilberti, Ricardo Haralde, Mauricio Herebrand, Daud filio Mauricii, Johanne Kaperich,

Roberto filio Walteri, Ricardo de la Hulle, Jolanne de sancta Brigida, Philippo de Newetonia, Roberto Reynbaud et aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Sancti Ismael scriptum.

[No. 5.]

Add. Ch. 8,412.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Gilebertus Marecallus comes Penbrochie dedi concessi et hac mea presenti carta confirmaui Gileberto de Valle pro homagio et seruicio suo molendinum de Sancto Ismaele cum secta et tota moltura sua et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis . Et cum vna carrucata terre proxima dicto molendino adiacente cum omnibus suis pertinentiis per mensuram . per tica continente viginti pedes per has metas et diuisas subscriptas, videlicet de aqua que currit de molendino de Malros descendendo usque ad riuium qui uenit de Sandinesford et sic per eundem riuium ascendendo usque ad Sandinesford, et sic de Sandinesford extendendo uersus Aquilonem usque ad fossatum quod appellatur Milnhochisdich . Et sic sicut illud fossatum se extendit uersus orientem usque ad uiam que ducit ad terram magne Hotonie et de illa terra descendendo usque ad diuisas que iacent inter terram parue Hotonie et terram sancti Ismaelis et sic extendendo per easdem diuisas usque ad aquam que currit inter terram sancti Ismaelis et terram de Hunteberge et sic per eandem aquam descendendo usque ad aquam que currit inter terram sancti Ismaelis et terram de Malros retentis nobis duabus acris prati et heredibus nostris infra dictas metas contentis in quibus concessimus eidem communam pasture cum fenum nostrum illinc ducatur . tenenda et habenda de me et heredibus meis dicto Gileberto et heredibus suis libere et quiete integre et honorifice plenarie et hereditarie cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad dictum molendinum et dictam terram pertinentibus faciendo inde ipse et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis sextam partem seruicii vnus militis pro omni seruicio, consuetudine et demanda ad dictum molendinum et dictam terram pertinente . Preterea dedi et concessi et hac mea presenti carta confirmaui eidem Gileberto de Valle aquam de Corslery ad piscariam ad anguillas capiendas faciendam . Ita quod construccio illius piscarie non sit ad nocumentum more mee ibidem . tenenda et habenda eidem G. et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, libere et quiete integre et hereditarie cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad dictam aquam pertinentibus reddendo inde ipse et heredes sui mihi et heredibus meis duodecim denarios per annum pro omni seruicio et consuetudine in termino Pasche . Et ego et heredes mei dictum molendinum cum dicta terra et dicta aqua et omnibus eorum pertinentiis dicto Gileberto et heredibus suis contra omnes homines in perpetuum warantizabimus . Et ut hec mea donacio et concessio futuris temporibus rata stabilis et inconcussa permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei impressione duxi roborau-

dam . Hiis testibus, dominis Waltero Marescallo, Anselmo Marescallo, Willelmo Crasso primogenito, Gwidone de Briona, Waltero filio Gileberti, Roberto filio Henrici, Ricardo Haralde, Nicholao filio Martini, Radulpho de Hiltonia, Waltero filio Aluredi, et multis aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Ismaele scriptum.

[No. 6.]

Harl. Ch. 45, G. 13.

Hæc est conventio facta inter Dominum Johannem de Barry, filium et heredem Domini David de Barry ex una parte et Dominam Katerinam de Geynvill priorissam de Cornebur' et ejusdem loci conventum, videlicet quod predicta priorissa et ejusdem loci conventus cum advocationem ecclesie de Pennaly in proprios usus adipisci poterint ex tunc unum capellanum in predicta ecclesia de Pennaly pro animabus dicti Domini Johannis et Domine Beatricis uxoris sue et antecessorum, successorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum ad custus suos teneantur invenire et obitus suos quam cito decesserint annuatim in coro suo omni nota celebrare et si contingat quod predicta priorissa et ejusdem loci conventus in parte vel in toto hujus conventionis defecerint [*sic*], quod absit, volunt et concedunt quod per regales comitatus Herefordiæ per omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia distringantur de die in diem absque ullo litigio ad prædictam conventionem ut prædictum est, plane observandam . Et qui distrinctionem fecerit habeat quotienscunque de bonis suis dimidiam marcæ . Concedunt etiam quod prædicto Domino Johanni et dictæ Beatrici et heredibus suis vel assignatis, omnes misas et expensas in defectu ipsorum causa dictæ conventionis non observatæ appositæ plene teneantur refundere et eisdem suo simplici verbo in omnibus præmissis credatur, sine onere alterius probationis . Ille tamen in hac parte et in omnibus præmissis sub omni censura ecclesiastica supponu[n]t . In cuius rei testimonium huic præsentī scripto modo cyrographi confecto tam prædictus Johannes quam prædicta priorissa et conventus alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt . Datum apud Cornebur' tertio decimo die Aprilis Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo primo.

[*Part of seal.*]

[No. 7.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 5.

Willelmus Marchio comes Suffolcie et Pembrochie ac magnus camerarius Anglie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint Salutem . Sciatis quod scrutatis recordis in Thesauraria nostra Pembrochie existentibus inter cetera inspeccimus quoddam recordum hundredi de Castro Martini cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba . Hic in pleno hundredo coram Willelmo Payneswike Cancellario et Thesaurario Pembrochie et Johanne Adam locumtenente Henrici Wogan militis senescalli Pembrochie, monstratum fuit quoddam recordum Hundredi de Castro Martini cuius tenor sequitur in hec

verba exemplificatum sub Sigillo Cancellarie Pembrochie . Humfridus filius et frater regum dux Gloucestrie, comes Pembrochie et Camerarius Anglie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint Salutem . Sciatis quod scrutatis recordis in Thesauraria nostra Pembrochio existentibus, inter cetera inspeceimus quoddam recordum hundredi de Castro Martini cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba. Hundredum de Castro Martini tentum die Jonis proximo post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno regni regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum xxj coram Stephano Jacob vicecomite et alijs . Philippus Pricker et Isolda vxor eius qui de Maria de Sancto Paulo Comitissa Pembrochie tenent vnum mesuagium et septem bouatas terre cum pertinenciis in Castro Martini per huiusmodi redditus et seruicia sicut Johannes Cradoc et Johannes sfroyne tenent terras suas veniunt in hundredo isto et recognoscunt quod predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis reddiderunt in manus Domine Comitisse in Curia sua sub tali condicione quod predicta Domina Comitissa retraderet eis predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis exceptis quatuor acris terre . Habenda et tenenda ad vitam eorum per eosdem redditus et seruicia sicut ea prius tenerunt . Et quod post eorum decessum omnia tenementa predicta cum pertinenciis integre remanereut Henrico filio eorum et Johanne vxori eius et heredibus de corporibus eorum Henrici et Johanne exeuntibus de Capitalibus Dominis feodi per redditus et seruicia inde debita et consueta Et quod predictae quatuor acre terre incontinente tradantur eisdem Henrico et Johanne Habende et tenende sibi et heredibus de corporibus suis exeuntibus . Et si ipsi Henricus et Johanna sine heredibus de corporibus suis exeunte obierint quod tunc omnia tenementa predicta cum pertinenciis integre remaneant rectis heredibus dicti Philippi etcetera . Et David Eliet balliuis dicte domine Comitisse, accepta liberatione tenementorum predictorum modo vt premittitur, in pleno Hundredo retradit eadem tenementa predictis Philippo et Isolde Habenda et tenenda ad totam vitam eorum ex[c]eptis quatuor acris inde Ita quod post decessum eorundem Philippi et Isolde remaneant Henrico filio eorum et Johanne vxori eius et heredibus de ipsis exeuntibus modo et forma in omnibus vt premittitur; et vt ista reddicio tenementorum predictorum post decessum predictae Comitisse locum et vigorem habeat versus Dominam Comitissam et heredes suos dicti Philippus et Isolda dant Domine Comitisse decem solidos Quod quidem recordum Hundredi vt premittitur omnibus quarum interest duximus per presentes has literas nostras patentes exemplificandum Datum apud Pembrochiam sub Sigillo Cancellarie nostre ibidem decimo nono die mensis Maij anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum vicesimo sexto.

[*With seal attached.*]

[*Endorsed*] Castell Martin.

[No. 8.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 20.

Jasper comes Pembrochie omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenierint salutem . Sciatis quod scrutatis pedibus finium in thesauraria nostra Pembrochie existentibus inter quos inspeximus quemdam pedem finis tenor cuius sequitur in hec verba . Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia comitatus Pembrochie domini Humfridi regum filii fratris et patruī ducis Gloucestrie comitis Pembrochie et magni camerarii Anglie tenta apud Pembrochiam die martis proximo ante festum sancti Clementis pape anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum vicesimo primo coram Henrico Wogan milite senescallo Pembrochie, Thoma Wyriet vicecomite Pembrochie, Thoma Perrot, Thoma Lagharne, Roberto Hurtone, sectatoribus dicte curie comitatus et alijs dicti domini ducis et comitis fidelibus tunc ibidem presentibus inter Ricardum Cradok militem et Johannem Perrot querentem et Aliciam que fuit vxor Thome Carpenter de Hauerforde deforciantem de tribus acris et medietate vnius acre terre vocatis le Parke cum pertinenciis in Monkton iuxta Pembrochiam, Scilicet quod predicta Alicia recognoscit predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis esse ius ipsius Ricardi vt illa que ijdem Ricardus et Johannes habent ex dono et concessione predictę Alicie . Et illa remisit et quietum clamauit de ipsa Alicie et heredibus suis prefatis Ricardo et Johanni et heredibus ipsius Ricardi imperpetuum . Et predicta Alicia et heredes sui predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis prefatis Ricardo et Johanni et heredibus ipsius Ricardi contra omnes homines warantizabunt et defendent imperpetuum . Et pro hac recognicione fine et concordia predicti Robertus et Johannes concesserunt prefate Alicie ad terminum vite sue duodecim solidos exeuntes de predictis tenementis cum pertinenciis solvendos annuatim ad festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis archangeli per equales porciones . Et si contingat predictos duodecim solidos ad aliquod festum antedictum aretro fore in parte vel in toto quod tunc bene liceat prefate Alicie ad terminum vite sue in predictis tenementis cum pertinenciis distringere et destructiones penes se retinere quousque de predicto redditu aretro existente plenarie sibi fuerit satisfactum . Quem quidem pedem finis sic vt premittitur omnibus et singulis presentes literas nostras tenore presencium sub sigillo cancellarie nostre Pembrochie sigillas duximus exemplificandum . Datum apud Pembrochiam vicesimo octauo die Aprilis anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum tricesimo septimo.

[*With seal attached.*]

[No. 9.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 6.

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes quod nos *Thomas* miseratione diuina tituli sancte Cecilie sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbiter Cardinalis Eboraci Archiepiscopus, Anglie primas et Cancellarius

Apostoliceque sedis eciam de latere legatus, ac *Willelmus* permissione diuina Cantuarie Archiepiscopus totius Anglie primas et Apostolice sedis legatus, Recepto Inuentario omnium et singulorum bonorum iurium et creditorum, Elizabethhe Newton ordinis pallij et annuli nuper de Monkton Menenensis dioceseos prouincie cantuarie defuncte, per executores testamenti eiusdem nobis exhibito et penes Registrarium nostrum dimisso, quia Inuenimus executores huiusmodi nonnullas impensas circa funus dicte defuncte exposuisse et fecisse deque fidelitate sua de et super solucone debitorum et legatorum ipsius defuncte sueque vltime voluntatis perimplecone ac residui bonorum iurium et creditorum suorum in pios vsus ad anime dicte defuncte salutem disposicione et administracione in futurum facienda, confidentes ipsos executores ab vltiori compoto, calculo, siue ratiocinio quoad huiusmodi impensas circa funus predictum vt prefertur expositas et factas nobis aut successoribus nostris in ea parte reddendo, quatenus nostrum de prerogatiua nostra concernit officium, dum tamen de dolo culpa vel fraude circa exposicionem impensarum huiusmodi minime convinci poterint absoluius ac saluo iure cuiuscunque dimittimus per presentes compotum calculum siue ratiocinium aliorum bonorum, iurium et creditorum quorumcunque dicte defuncte per predictos executores imposterum administrandorum nobis aut successoribus nostris reseruando et per presentes reseruamus. In Cuius Rei testimonium Sigilla nostra presentibus apponi fecimus. Datum Londonie xxix^{mo} die mensis Augusti anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xxiv^{mo}.

Barett.

[No. 10.]

Add. Ch. 8,408.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Mauricii dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Ade Cole filio Hugonis Cole totum ius meum et totam terram meam in tenemento de Reddewalles, scilicet decimam partem tocius terre de Reddewalles in Rodival, exceptis quatuor aeris terre sub villa et excepta una aera et dimidio [*sic*] prati pro homagio suo et seruicio cum suis pertinenciis. Tenendam et habendam sibi et heredibus suis de Sarra filia Willelmi Fulebeche, de me, et de heredibus meis libere et quiete pacifice et integre et hereditarie in bosco in plano in moris in aquis in pratis in pascuis in viis in semitis in terra arabili et non arabili et non arabili [*sic*] et in omnibus locis et aisiamentis et in molendinis cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus dicte terre adiacentibus. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis de se et de heredibus suis duos solidos sterlingorum et octo denarios ad duos terminos anni scilicet medietatem ad pascha et medietatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omni seruicio et exaccione et demanda mihi et heredibus meis pro predicta terra pertinente, saluo forensico seruicio. Et Ego iohannes et heredes mei aquietabimus dictam terram versus dominum feodi de omni redditu scilicet de duobis solidis et octo denariis annua-

tim . Ego vero Johannes et heredes mei hanc donacionem et concessionem dicto Ade et heredibus suis de Sarra filia Willelmi Fulebeche contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus . Et ut hec mea donacio rata et stabilis et inconcussa permaneat cartam istam sigilli mei impressione roborau . Hiis testibus Roberto filio Walteri, Tancardo de Rupe, Waltero filio Henrici, Philippo Cole, Waltero le Wel, Johanne Cole, Peres filio Alexandri et multis aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Redewallis scriptum.

[No. 11.]

Add. Ch. 8,414.

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel auditoris David de Rupe dominus de Landegumme et Maynelochane salutem in Domino . Noueritis me concessisse pro me et heredibus siue assignatis meis domino abbati et conuentui albe domus pro parte precii eiusdam equi ab eisdem empti communitatem pasture pro eorum equicio avariis et aliis quibuscunque animalibus per totam terram meam de Pressely et aliis montanis et desertis exceptis blado et pratis usque ad terminum septem annorum, termino inscipiente ad festum sancti Michaelis anno domini millesimo tercentesimo tertio . Remisi eciam eidem abbati et conuentui duos solidos annui redditus in quibus michi tenebantur per terminum dictorum septem annorum, excepto vno denario quem michi soluere debent durante termino predicto annuatim in recognicione redditus supradicti, post quem terminum plenarie completum dictos duos solidos vt prius soluere tenebantur, et pro pastura extunc mecum conueniant si voluerint . In cuius rei testimonium presentibus in testimonium veritatis sigillum dicti domini abbatis est appensum . Datum apud Albam Domum die precedente vigiliam omnium sanctorum anno supra dicto.

[*Endorsed*] Wytelond scriptum ad terminum annorum.

[No. 12.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 9.

Omnibus et singulis venerabilibus iudicibus ordinariis, decanis, legatis, vel eorum commissariis, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Maioribus, senescallis, Balliuis, alijsque ministris spiritualibus et temporalibus ac aliis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit . Alicia que fuit vxor Ricardi Penvey de Hauerford executrix testamenti eiusdem Ricardi honores reuerencias ac salutem in domino sempiternam . Noueritis quod ego variis negociis me tangentibus prepetita quod disposicioni ac execucionis testamenti predicti in singulis Curiis et locis quibus oportet personaliter vacare non possum, attornaui, substitui et loco meo posui dilectos michi in Christo Ricardum Newton legis apprenticium, Robertum Turbut, et Johannem Conyntre Mercatores ville Hauerforde in South Wallia Meos veros attornatos generales procuratores ac negociorum meorum gestores ad omnia placita et querelas mota vel

mouenda pro me vel contra me in quibuscunque Curiis citra mare et ultra mare proseguenda et defendenda et ad lucrandum vel perdendum in eisdem Et quod idem Ricardus Newton loco meo facere possit attornatum procuratorem negotiorum meorum gestorum quem voluerit ad omnia predicta placita et querelas proseguenda et defendenda et ad lucrandum vel perdendum in eisdem sicut predictum est et quod ipse Ricardus huiusmodi attornatum procuratorem, negotiorumque gestorem per ipsum constitutum amouere et alios vel alium loco suo substituere possit . Daus et concedens eis et cuilibet eorum plenam liberam ac generalem potestatem et mandatum speciale nomine meo agendi et defendendi excipiendi, replicandi, acquietancias et relaxationes facienda et ad omnia et singula alia facienda et expedienda que per veros et legitimos attornatos, procuratores ac negotiorum gestores fieri poterunt, vel expediri etiam si mandatum exigant speciale . Ratum gratum firmiter et stabile habitura quicquid iidem, Ricardus, Robertus, et Johannes fecerint vel alter eorum fecerit vt premititur . In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui, Et quia sigillum meum pluribus est incognitum sigillum excellentis domini Domini Humfridi filii et fratris Regum, Ducis Gloucestrie, Comitis Pembrochie et Camerarii Anglie Cancellarie sue Pembrochie presentibus apponi Supplicavi . Et nos predictus Humfridus ad specialem requisicionem prefate Alicie tenentis nostre sigillum cancellarie nostre Pembrochie fecimus hiis apponi in testimonium premissorum . Datum quarto die Aprilis Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie secundo et anno ab incarnatione domini secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie Anglie millesimo ccccxxiv.

[*With seal attached.*]

[No. 13.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 8.

Rolandus Leynthale miles dominus Hauerford omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem . Scrutatis pedibus finium in thesauraria nostra Hauerforde existencium, inspeximus inter cetera pedem cuiusdam finis cuius tenor sequitur per hec verba . Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia forinseca Hauerforde de mense in mensem domini Rolandi Leynthale militis domini Hauerforde tenta ibidem die Mercurii proximo ante festum Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum octano, coram Johanne Wyse, sencescallo Hauerforde, Henrico Wogan milite, Thoma Malyfant, Thoma Joce, Johanne Pictone, Thoma Sturmyn, Nicholao Horde, David Baret et Johanne Nest sectatoribus eiusdem curie ac aliis dicti domini Rolandi fidelibus tunc ibidem presentibus, Inter Ricardum Cradok et Emmam uxorem eius querentes, et Johannem Lange filium Johannis Lange de Pembrochia, Johannem Cryppyn et Johannem Vyssher et Katerinam vxorem eius deforciatores de quinque mesnagiis et duabus caruatis terre cum pertinenciis in South hill vnde

placitum convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, per breve scilicet quod predicti Johannes Lange, Johannes Cryppyn, Johannes Vyssher, et Katerina recognouerunt tenementa predicta cum pertinenciis esse jus ipsius Ricardi vt illa que ijdem Ricardus et Emma habent de dono predictorum Johannis Lange, Johannis Cryppyn, Johannis Vyssher et Katerine, et illa remisierunt et quiete clamaverunt de ipsis Johanne Lange, Johanne Cryppyn, Johanne Vyssher et Katerina et heredibus ipsius Katerine predictis Ricardo et Emme et heredibus ipsius Ricardi. Tenenda de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita et de iure consueta imperpetuum. Et predicti Johannes Lange, Johannes Cryppyn, Johannes Vyssher et Katerina et heredes ipsius Katerine warrantizabunt predictis Ricardo et Emme et heredibus ipsius Ricardi predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis contra omnes homines imperpetuum. quem quidem pedem finis predicti modo et forma prescriptis omnibus quorum interest in presenti seu in futuro poterit interesse duximus tenore presencium exemplificandum. Datum sub sigillo Cancellarie nostre Hauerforde primo die Aprilis Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum octauo.

[*Endorsed*] Exemplificacio finis de terra et tenementis in Southill.

[No. 14.]

Add. Ch. 8,411.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus Marescallus comes Penbrochie dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Gilberto de Valle pro homagio et seruicio suo in escambium terre sue de Mamardeyvi et insula de Scoggholm quindecim carrucas terre cum vno molendino in Balikaruella in Hybernia cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et si aliquid deficiat de quindecim carrucatis terre in Balikaruella tunc id quod deficit eidem Gilberto perficere teneor de propinquiori terra mea dominica tenendas et habendas sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis libere quiete bene et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus faciendo michi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui seruicium dimidii seruicii vnus militis pro omni seruicio exaccione et demanda ad me uel ad heredes meos pertinente. Ego uero et heredes mei dicto Gilleberto et heredibus suis dictam terram contra omnes homines et feminas warrantizabimus. Et vt hec mea donacio et concessio perpetue firmitatis robur optineat presentem cartam sigilli mei munimine roborauimus. Hiis testibus, Dominis Willelmo Grasso primogenito, Hamone Grasso, Henrico de Braybof, Willelmo de Rodona, Rogero de Hida, Rogero de Suttona, Francone Theutonico militibus, Benedicto clerico et Godefrido clerico et multis aliis.

[*Endorsed*] *Nolton (?)*, Mamardewy, Schokholme.

[No. 15.]

Add. Ch. 8,409.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus de Mortuo Mari filius domini Henrici de Mortuo Mari dedi et concessi et relaxaui

et quietum clamaui domino Thome de Rupe et heredibus suis et suis assignatis vnam carucatam terre apud pullam Rodifal que quadam [*sic*] carucate terre erat quondam terra Roberti molendinarij. Habendam et tenendam predictam carucatam terre predicto domino Thome de Rupe et heredibus suis uel assignatis libere et quiete bene et in pace jure hereditario cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et aysiamendis dicte terre pertinentibus. Et ego predictus Rogerus de Mortuo Mari et heredes mei uel mei assignati predictam carucatam terre cum omnibus pertinencijs suis predicto domino Thome de Rupe et heredibus suis uel suis assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas warentizare, defendere, et aquietare tenemur. Et vt hec mea donacio et concessio et carte mee confirmatio rata et stabilis et inconcussa inposterum permaneat presentem cartam sigilli me impressione corroborau; hiis testibus, Domino Johanne de Castro Martini tunc sensecallo [*sic*] Penbrochie, Domino Willelmo de Caumvil, Domino Gilberto de Rupe, domino Edmundo Gascelin militibus, Waltero Malefaunte, Willelmo le Grace, Johanne de Castro, et aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Pulla Rodifale scriptum.

[No. 16.]

Add. Ch. 8,410.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Philippus filius Thome Martin fullonis de vado Gilberti dedi concessi relaxaui et omnino quietum clamaui Thome de Rupe domino de Rupe et heredibus suis uel suis assignatis molendinum fullonicum et unam acram et dimidiam terre cum quinque domibus et vna placea domus cum quinque ortis et cum omnibus aliis suis pertinenciis in tenemento de vado Gilberti sicut mensurantur perambulantur et per metas et bundas eidem assignantur cum omnibus libertatibus liberisque consuetudinibus et aysiamendis dictis molendino et terre et domibus et ortis adiacentibus. Ego insuper dictus Philippus volo et concedo pro me et heredibus meis uel meis assignatis quod predictus Thomas de Rupe et heredes sui uel sui assignati teneant et includant et lapides fodeant [*sic*] et aquas ducant et molendina erigant et comoda sua faciant in toto tenemento de vado Gilberti extra quinque acras terre mee pro vt melius et liberius sibi viderint expedire. Ita quod nec ego dictus Philippus nec heredes mei nec mei assignati in dictis tensariis et terre inclusionibus et in fodiendo quararium et aquarum ductione et molendinis erigendis et aliis comodis faciendis in comuna et in terra nullum ius uel clamium decetero exigere uel vendicare poterimus vbi predicta preparantur nec alibi. Habenda et tenenda predictum molendinum et terram predictam cum domibus et ortis et placeis predictis cum omnibus aliis suis pertinenciis predicto Thome et heredibus suis uel assignatis de dominis de quibus prius tenebantur. Ego vero predictus Philippus et heredes mei uel mei assignati predictum molendinum fullonicum et predictam acram et dimidiam terre cum domibus et ortis predictis et cum omnibus aliis suis perti-

nenciis et aysiamentis predictis predicto Thome et heredibus suis uel suis assignatis contra omnes mortales warentizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus inperpetuum . Et vt hec mea donacio, concessio, relaxacio, quietaclamacio et presentis carte mee confirmacio rata stabilis et inconcussa permaneat presentem cartam sigilli mei inpressione roborau; Hiis testibus, Domino Willelmo Martin, domino Gilberto de Rupe, militibus, Willelmo de Bruera tunc senescallo de Penbidiane, Johanne Beneger tunc senescallo Penbrochie, Henrico filio Henrici, Ada de Waleshoke, Philippo Russel juniore, et aliis.

[*Endorsed*] Vado Gelberti scriptum.

[No. 17.]

Sloane Ch. xxxii, 19.

Willelmus de Bello Campo chiualer custos comitatus Pembrochie ex concessione domini Regis racione minoris etatis Johannis filii et heredis Johannis de Hastynges nuper comitis Pembrochie omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem . Noueritis nos inspexisse recordum rotulorum nostrorum in thesauraria nostra Pembrochie tangentem hereditatem Thome Crippyn sub tenore qui sequitur in hec verba.

Comitatus Pembrochie tentus die Martis in festo concepcionis beate Marie Virginis anno regni regis Ricardi septimo coram Johanne Wydlok senescallo et vicecomite Pembrochie.

Thomas Crippyn filius Ricardi Crippyn de Southulle in Roos opponit se versus Johannem Crippyn capellanum in placito terre per breve de scire facias et petit execucionem de vna carucata terre cum pertinenciis in Merlynch prout patet per breve suum cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba . Willelmus de Bello Campo Chiualer custos comitatus Pembrochie ex concessione domini regis racione minoris etatis Johannis filii et heredis Johannis de Hastynges nuper comitis Pembrochie vicecomiti Pembrochie salutem . Cum quedam finis leuasset in curia domini Willelmi de Valence die Martis proximo post festum sancti Edmundi anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis quinquagesimo septimo coram domino Willelmo de Boleuyl tunc senescallo Pembrochie, Roberto de Yale, Johanne de Castelmartyn militibus, et aliis dicti domini Willelmi de Valence fidelibus tunc ibidem presentibus inter Robertum Crippyn et Matildam vxorem suam querentes et dominum Philippum de Stakepoll dominum de Stakepoll Elyder impediendes de vna carucata terre cum pertinenciis in Merlinche vnde placitum motum fuit inter eos in eadem curia per breve de waranto carte videlicet quod dictus dominus Philippus pro se et heredibus recognouit dictam terram cum suis pertinenciis esse ius predicti Roberti et Matilde vxoris sue omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredum de dicta Matilda exeuntium inperpetuum vel assignatis [*sic*] eorum vt illud quod habent ex dono et concessione dicti domini Philippi . habendum et tenendum dictam terram cum suis perti-

nenciis Roberto et Matilde vxori sue omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredum de dicta Matilda exeuntium vel eorum assignatis de dicto domino Philippo et heredibus suis libere quiete bene pacifice et hereditarie imperpetuum cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus et aisiamentis dicte terre intra et extra pertinentibus, reddendo inde annuatim dicti Robertus et Matilda vxor sua omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredum de dicta Matilda exeuntium imperpetuum dicto domino Philippo et heredibus vel assignatis suis vnum obolum in festo sancti Michaelis et faciendum annuatim tres sectas ad curiam dicti domini Philippi et heredum suorum de Stakpolle Elider per rationabilem summonicionem xv dierum; ac eciam ex insinuacione Thome Crippyn filii Ricardi Crippyn filii Roberti Crippyn filii Willelmi Crippyn filii Matilde consanguinei et heredis predicti Willelmi filii Matilde, accepimus quod predicti Robertus filius dicti Willelmi et Ricardus filius dicti Roberti obierunt per quod predicta carucata terre cum pertinenciis predicto Thome filii [*sic*] Ricardi filii Roberti filii Willelmi filii Matilde descendere debet per formam finis predictae. Et quod quidam Johannes Crippyn clericus predictam carucatam terre cum pertinenciis ingressus est et illam tenet contra formam finis predictae. Et quia volumus ea que in curia predicti domini Willelmi de Valence rite acta sunt debite execucionem demandare tibi precipimus quod per probos et legales homines de baliva tua scire facias prefato Johanni Crippyn quod sit ad proximum comitatum nostrum Pembrochie coram Seneschallo nostro Pembrochie vel eius locumtenente apud Pembrochiam ostensurus si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat quare predicta carucata terre cum pertinenciis predicto Thome filio Ricardi filii Roberti filii Willelmi filii Matilde consanguineo et heredi predicti Willelmi post mortem eorum descendere non debeat iuxta formam finis predictae si sibi viderit expedire. Et habeas ibi nomina eorum per quos ei scire feceris et hoc breue. Datum Pembrochie xvij die mensis Nouembris anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum septimo. Ad quem diem vicecomes returnauit quod scire fecit predicto Johanni Crippyn secundum modum et formam breuis predicti &c. Et predictus Johannes Crippyn solempniter vocatus non venit. Quare predictus Thomas petit execucionem de predicta carucata terre cum pertinenciis secundum formam finis in breui suo comptam &c. que comprehenditur sub hiis verbis.

Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini Willelmi de Valencia comitis Pembrochie die Martis proximo post festum Sancti Edmundi regis anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis quinquagesimo septimo coram dominis Willelmo de Boleuyl tunc seneschallo Pembrochie, Roberto de Valle, Daud de Wydeworth, Johanne de Castro Martini Militibus, Tank[redo] de Hospitali tunc vicecomite Pembrochie, Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Gilberto de Rupe, Willelmo de Rupe, Waltero Malanfount, Johanne de Castro, libere tenentibus et aliis domini Willelmi de Valence fidelibus tunc ibi-

dem presentibus . Inter Robertum de Crippyn et Matildam vxorem suam querentes et dominum Philippum de Stakepoll dominum de Stakepoll Elyder impediētes de vna carucata terre cum pertinenciis in tenemento de Merlynch unde placitum motum fuit inter eos in eadem curia per breve warantie carte videlicet quod dictus dominus Philippus pro se et heredibus suis recognouit dictam terram cum suis pertinenciis esse ius dicti Roberti et Matilde vxoris sue omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredum de dicta Matilda exeuntium imperpetuum vel assignatis [*sic*] eorum vt illud quod habent ex dono et concessione dicti domini Philippi . habendum et tenendum dictam terram cum suis pertinenciis dictis Roberto et Matilde vxoris sue omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredibus de dicta Matilda exeuntibus vel eorum assignatis de dicto domino Philippo et heredibus suis libere quiete bene pacifice et hereditarie imperpetuum cum omnibus libertatibus liberis consuetudinibus et aysiamētis dicte terre intra et extra pertinentibus . Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Robertus et Matilda vxor sua omnibus diebus vite eorum et eorum heredum de dicta Matilda exeuntium imperpetuum dicto domino Philippo et heredibus vel assignatis vnum obolum in festo sancti Michaelis et faciendo annuatim tres sectas ad curiam dicti domini et heredum suorum de Stakepoll Elider per rationabilem summonitionem xv dierum . Et dictus dominus Philippus et heredes sui dictam carucatam terre cum pertinenciis suis dicto Roberto et Matilde vxori sue et eorum heredibus vel assignatis vt predictum est contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabunt acquietabunt et defendent . Pro hac autem finali concordia juris recognicione et warantizacōne dederunt dictus Robertus et Matilda vxor sua triginta marcas argenti dicto domino Philippo &c. . Et super hoc venit quidam Ricardus Crippyn et dicit quod predictus Johannes Crippyn est in proteccionē domini regis prout patet in recordo comitatus Pembrochie tenti ibidem die Martis proximo ante festum sancti Luce ewangeliste anno regni regis Ricardi secundi septimo, &c . Et non intendit durante tempore proteccionis illius aliquam execucionem habere debere, &c. Et super hoc predictus Thomas monstrat quandam patentem domini regis per quod [*sic*] dominus rex adnullauit proteccionem illam cuius tenor sequitur in hec verba . Ricardus Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hybernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint salutem . Licet vicesimo octauo die septembris vltimo [*sic*] preterito credentes Johannem Crippyn capellanum in opsequium nostrum in comitiva carissimi anuueuli nostri comitis Bukinghamie ad partes transmarinas profectum fuisse per literas nostras patentes usque ad festum purificationis beate Marie proxime futurum duraturum susceperimas in proteccionem et defencionem nostram specialem ipsum Johannem homines terras res redditus et omnes possessiones suas Et voluerimus quod idem Johannes interim esset quietus de omnibus placitis et querelis exceptis certis placitis in dictis literis nostris specificatis prout in eisdem literis plenius continetur . Quibusdam tamen certis de causis

nos monentibus dictas literas nostras de proteccionem eidem Johanni factas tenore presencium duximus reuocandum . Et hoc omnibus quorum interest innotescimus per presentes . In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes . Teste meipso, apud Westmonasterium XXIXimo die Octobris anno regni nostri septimo . Burton . Cuius virtute patentes predictus Thomas Crippyn petit execucionem terre predictæ versus predictum Johannem Crippyn per defalcacionem eius vt supra . Et super hoc sectatores inde onerati de iudicio suo reddendo dicunt et consentiunt quod predictus Thomas habeat execucionem de predicta carucata terre cum pertinenciis suis versus predictum Johannem Crippyn, &c. Secundum formam brevis sui et preceptum est vicecomiti quod habere faciat execucionem predicto Thome Crippyn de predicta carucata terre cum pertinenciis secundum formam supra, &c. Et ipse Johannes Crippyn in misericordia . in cuius rei testimonium huic recordo sigillum cancellarie nostre Pembrochie est appensum . Datum apud Pembrochiam sexto die Mensis Januarii anno regni regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum decimo .

[*With Seal attached.*]

NOTES ON MANORBIER CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY THE REV. A. H. WRATISLAW, M.A.

(Read 4th September 1884.)

FROM whichever side we approach this extraordinary church, we cannot but be struck by its remarkable irregularity. It does not seem to have been built upon a plan at all; or, if so, the parties carrying it out must have quarrelled, and gone each their own way in the execution of it, so that the results of their work were not very consistent with one another. Take away the north aisle, and you have an ordinary cruciform church; and, indeed, the north aisle with its separate compass-roof and separate bell-turret, appears to have actually been a separate church.

Entering at the south door, and noticing the remains of painting on the ceiling of the porch, the first thing that now strikes one on going into the church is the irregularity of the arches of the nave, which are not of the same size, and are not built as such arches usually are, but springing straight from the floor of the church. Proceeding a little further up the centre of the nave, we find the key to this otherwise extraordinary problem. The remains of a little Norman window meet the eye on the right hand side; and this, taken together with the singularity of the arches, appears to indicate that we have in the nave the original Norman church, out of the thick and solid walls of which the present arches were cut, just enough of one window being left to betray the secret.

If we proceed to what ought to be the lantern, we shall find that the arches that ought to have carried the tower have been so mismanaged that they do not intersect properly, and could not bear any such weight; consequently the tower (a model in its kind) has been placed in the only available position, in the corner formed by

the north transept and the chancel. The belfry windows are curiously arranged. On the north side there are three, east and west have one each, and on the south side there is no such window.

The north transept appears to have been extended to form a chantry chapel for the Du Barri whose stone effigy now lies on the north side of the chancel, but lay till 1780 under the low arch at the north end of the north transept. The ribbed groining on the roof hereof is remarkable; but there is similar groining in Cosheston Church.

The north aisle possesses an Early English doorway in the north wall, leading up to the rood-loft and belfry in the tower. The supports of the ancient, enormous rood-loft are still visible in the south transept and nave. The remains of the rood-loft are over the east end of the north aisle. The original chancel-arch was round, and of course Norman; and the original chancel was smaller, and of different orientation from the present one, which deflects towards the south. The squint from the south transept is enormous.

When, at the time of the restoration of the church, the little Norman window was opened, a red stencil pattern on the jambs was quite distinct, and was similar to those on the plaster of the chapel in the Castle. I am afraid very little of it can now be distinguished. The south transept and the chancel had Perpendicular lights previous to the restoration of the church (1866). The south aisle is a mere lean-to. There is also a lean-to on the north side of the chancel, which is used as a vestry.

As regards the spelling of the word "Manorbier", I ought to state that the late Master of Christ's College informed me that the spelling is invariably either "Manorbier" or "Manerbier" in the College books ever since the property was given to the College by the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII. On the chalice, which is believed to be Elizabethan, the spelling is "Manerbeyr". These facts, taken together with Giraldus's "Manorbyr" or "Manorpyr", point to a pronunciation, "Manorbyer" rather than "Manorbere" or "-beer". But I am told that in the Picton books the whole estate is termed "the

Manor of Beer, commonly called Manorbier". Beer is a farm and also a moor in the parish. I am also informed that aged people used to pronounce and still pronounce the word "Manorbyer", also that in many old Latin deeds the word is spelt "Manorbyer". Thus the evidence, taken altogether, is very contradictory, but on the whole points rather to Manorbyer than to Manorbere.

Further considerations, especially those brought forward by Mr. E. Laws, have led me to conclude that *two* names lurk in the word "Manorbier" or "Manorbere"; one an ancient Welsh name, "Maen-o-pyr" (the stone of the mythical Pembrokeshire hero, Pyr); and the other a later Norman-French name, "Manorbere" (the manor of Bere). The latter name I should imagine to be an attempt, by people who did not know Welsh, to derive the old Welsh name from Norman-French.

Finally, let me invite the visitors to make trial of the remarkable echo from some spot a little below the steps by which the churchyard is entered on the west. Let them challenge it with the words of a learned Dutchman: "Decem annos consumpsi legendo Cicerone", and receive in Greek the answer indicated by Erasmus, "Ὀυε, Ασινε".

NOTES ON ANCIENT GLASS.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

(Read 1st April 1885.)

THE art of melting glass into various shapes, staining it, polishing it into mirrors, blowing it into bottles, and making vases of it, was known in remote ages. Pliny tells a story how some Phœnician soda merchants discovered glass. They landed on the banks of the river Belus, and supported the vessel in which they cooked their food with blocks of soda. However, the soda melted with the heat, and the sand on which the blocks had rested was transformed into glass. This is a fabulous story when we consider the temperature necessary for the manufacture of glass. "Chance", says a modern writer, "had doubtless its share in the invention of glass; but the pottery manufacture and the extraction of metals require the employment of high and sustained temperatures, sufficient to give rise to fusible silicates, more or less analogous to glass. It is a point, however, on which there can be no doubt, that glass was known to the Phœnicians, who for a long time retained the monopoly of it, being favoured by the union of natron, sand, and fuel, in a country situated on the shores of the sea."¹

The Rev. T. K. Cheyne draws attention to Job xxviii, 17 (gold and glass), as an instance which shows the antiquity of this manufacture.² Various objects made of this material have been discovered at Nimrūd and at Khorsabad,³ while the art of glass-blowing was known to the Egyptians at least as early as the reign of the first Osirtasen.⁴ For centuries Tyre, Sidon, and Alexandria, were noted for their beautiful glass urns and drinking-cups, embellished with raised or ornamented figures of elaborate workmanship. It was in the tomb of Alexander Severus that the celebrated Barberini or Portland vase

¹ *Chemistry applied to Arts and Manufactures*, vol. v, p. 2.

² *Prophecies of Isaiah*, by Rev. T. K. Cheyne, vol. i, p. 25.

³ *Layard's Discoveries*, pp. 195-6.

⁴ Wilkinson, iii, p. 88.

was found. At the Thebes and Beni Hassan are paintings which represent, in a rude form, the glass-blower at his work, and from accompanying hieroglyphics it would appear that these paintings point to a period some 3,500 years ago. A company of glass manufacturers established themselves at Rome, near the Porta Capena. This was in the reign of Tiberius. The manufacture of glass must have rapidly increased, for in 220 it was considered to be of so much importance that an impost was laid on it by Alexander Severus. For a long time Roman windows were filled with a substance called *lapis specularis*,¹ and the precise period when window-glass was first introduced is unknown. The use of it is mentioned by Lactantius at the end of the third century, but discoveries at Pompeii have shown that glazed windows were used in that city.² Jerome speaks of the use of glass windows in his time, and Paulus Silentarius states that the windows of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople were filled with glass.

The following passage in Bede's *Vita beatorum abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girvensium* would give us to understand that glass windows were first introduced into England by Benedict Biscop in the year 674 :—" Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores (artifices videlicet), Britanniiis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ, porticumque et cœnaculorum ejus, fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, venerunt; nec solum opus postulatum compleverunt, set et Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt; artificium nimirum vel lampadis ecclesiæ claustris, vel vasorum multifariis usibus, non ignobiliter aptum."

Bede was evidently unaware that the Romans made use of window-glass, not only in public buildings, but even in private houses. It is unfortunate that the walls of the houses at Uriconium are not sufficiently high to enable us to be quite certain how the light was admitted

¹ This is a fossil of the class of tales. We read that it was employed for the construction of hothouses in the reign of Tiberius, and by so using it this Emperor had cucumbers at his table throughout the whole of the year.

² Pompeii was destroyed A.D. 79.

into the rooms. Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., in his work on *Uriconium*, was of opinion that roof-windows were in common use. When a portion of these extensive ruins were excavated, considerable quantities of fine window-glass were found scattered over the floors of the houses. This glass is to be seen in the museum at Shrewsbury, and has an average thickness of one-eighth of an inch. The glass from *Uriconium* is superior in quality, and is thicker than fragments of window-glass found on the sites of some of the Roman villas.

I once analysed a few fragments of Roman glass, and I have pleasure in laying the results before the British Archæological Association. A is the analysis of a small piece of glass which was found in Pompeii in 1866. It may have been a fragment from an urn. B is the analysis of a bottle (green) found in the neighbourhood of Salzburg, and given to me by the late Prof. von Noorden. C is the analysis of a fragment of what may have been a lachry-matory found at *Uriconium*. This had been given to the late Dr. Angus Smith, and at his special request I made an examination of it. D is the analysis of a lachry-matory found in the neighbourhood of Puzzuoli. E is the analysis of a fragment of a greenish coloured bottle from Treves, given to me by the late Dr. Angus Smith.

	A	B	C	D	E
Silica	70.11	65.93	70.21	72.54	67.92
Sodium oxide	21.81	23.59	14.91	15.92	21.34
Lime	3.21	5.2	7.82	7.99	6.32
Magnesia	0.35	trace	—	trace	0.59
Manganese monoxide .	0.99	1.81	2.78	0.09	2.32
Ferric oxide	1.82	0.59	1.82	1.56	1.01
Alumina	1.71	2.75	2.46	1.90	0.50

FURTHER NOTES ON NURSLING
AND ON OTHER
ROMAN STATIONS AND ROADS IN THE NEW FOREST,
HANTS.

BY DR. WAKE SMART.

(*Read April 16th, 1884.*)

IN the volume for 1881 of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, p. 296, I have contributed a "Notice of Roman Remains found at Nursling, Hants", including some remarks on the Roman roads of that district, on the authority of an important statement made by the late Mr. Henry Hatcher in 1834, in his little work on *Old Sarum*. Since my paper was printed I have enjoyed the opportunity of consulting the volume of the Winchester Congress of the British Archæological Association in 1845, in which I find a more detailed exposition of Mr. Hatcher's observations "On the Roman Roads and Stations in Hampshire", from which I make the following extract in reference to Clausentum (Bittern): "A second road", says he, "appears to have crossed the line of the turnpike from Romsey to Southampton, near the inn called 'The Horns', and passed the Test at the Ford near Nursling Mill. It took the direction of Mr. Wake's house, near Tachbury Mount, where a fragment of it recently existed, pointing towards Ringwood on one side, and on the other directly on Nursling. From this road a branch ran south-easterly", etc. (to Lepe on the Solent).

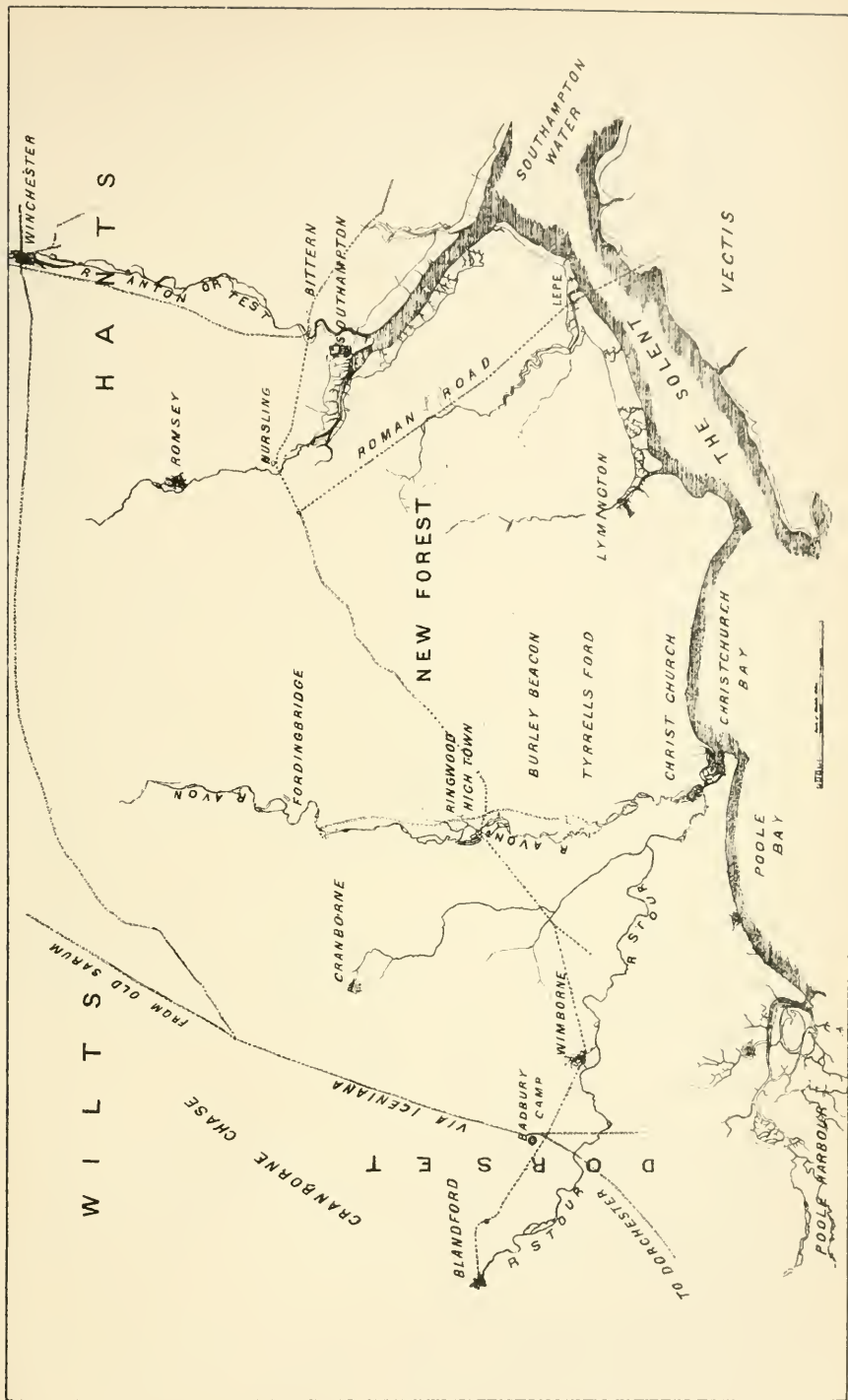
This statement by Mr. Hatcher is fully confirmed by a letter from the late Rev. Edmund Kell, F.S.A., to Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., which he has kindly placed in my hands, and will be seen to be of more than ordinary interest. Mr. Kell writes as follows :

"Southampton. Nov. 24, '69.

"My dear Sir,

"I am much obliged to you for your note. Mr. Priaulx¹ was quite right in stating that there are indications of Roman roads meeting at

¹ William Priaulx, Esq., of Southampton. He it was who found the Roman steelyard-weight (see *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. iv) in digging earth





Nursling,—the one from Winchester into the New Forest, the other direct from Bitterne to Nursling, and of course crossing the Test there. This road runs along the northern boundary of the Southampton Common (given to the town by King John), and goes by the name of Burgess Street. It is for a considerable distance quite straight, and crosses Shirley Heath to Nursling; though, from the building of houses and other changes, it is not afterwards so traceable till you get towards Nursling. I have traced the road on the other side the river Test beyond Nursling, near Tachbury, where it is still called the Roman Road. Tachbury Hill was originally a British fortification, turned to use in Roman and Saxon times; the Roman Road (still so called) over Beaulieu Heath, which went to Lepe. When we reflect that there are about ten well known relics of Roman potteries in the New Forest, and that they would necessarily send their goods to Winchester, they would wish for a point to cross the Test river higher than Redbridge; and we cannot doubt that Nursling (formerly called Nutshalling) was the point for crossing. There is a mill near it, and a place called *The Walls*, and it looks like a place likely to be chosen for that purpose. The New Forest, or rather a *forest*, extended eastward towards the site of the three glass-factories at *Brige*, which I believe were Roman;¹ and the crucibles, of which I have many specimens, came from the Crock Hill or other Roman potteries in the New Forest. It is obvious that the Nursling route would save many miles of carriage to such parts.

“As corroboratory proof, I have seen and noted in a manuscript book I have of Roman towns in Hants, the following coins found at Nursling: CARAUSIUS, *rev.*, ‘Virtus’; DIOCLETIANUS, *rev.*, ‘Genio Populi Romani’; GORDIANUS, third, *rev.*, Emperor standing; TETRICUS, second, *rev.*, ‘Spes’; and a piece of silver (oblong) from which coins were struck. These belonged to Mr. Drayson, who was employed as tithe-surveyor before the Tithe Commutation Act; and in about a dozen places in the survey had coins brought him, or collected them, and kept them in separate little bags till he brought them to me to examine.

“In reference to the squared stones (I. of W.), I am unable to say much other than I suppose that Priaulx meant Southampton by the words ‘our town’; but Southampton has no Roman stones. I am very sorry to say he died about six months since. I had been in company with him about a fortnight before, at the Philosophical Society Meeting at Romsey, and often met him. He was an earnest antiquary.

“Believe me, etc.,

“EDMUND KELL.”

Forty years having elapsed since Mr. Hatcher’s description of the fragment of the Roman road which he traced to Tachbury Mount from Nursling, it may be no longer visible, therefore its destination to Ringwood must remain conjectural. Nevertheless, we may reasonably suppose

to make a fish-pond on his property at Nursling, and gave it to Mr. Hollier. (*Ex inf.* C. R. S.)

¹ These glass-factories were mediæval. (*Ex inf.* C. R. S.)

that it did go in that direction, according to the observation of such a careful antiquary as Mr. Hatcher; and if not to the town of Ringwood, it may have gone so far as to the verge of the high land two or three miles above the town, as at High Town, where, dividing into two branches at right angles, the one proceeded northwards to Fordingbridge, and the other south-westward, to Tyrrell's Ford, at both which places were ancient and important crossings of the Avon river. These branches may have followed the present village-roads and trackways to those places. From the former it would be soon in communication with the Wiltshire Downs and the Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester; from the latter the communication would be equally direct with the river Stour, and the British and Roman camps commanding its fords, and with the Via Iceniana and the open land and woods of Dorset. We hold this to be a probable route of these roads, freely admitting we are not at present prepared to substantiate our opinion; but we trust that the great Ordnance Survey which is now being worked out with scrupulous accuracy in every detail may, when complete, assist in removing much of the obscurity that now involves the topography of the New Forest as of many other parts of the country. From my own knowledge I can state that it will be a grand memorial of, as well as guide to, the ancient remains of our ancestors in these southern counties.

Tachbury Mount, at the distance of one or two miles from the right bank of the river Test, has unquestionably been a place of great importance; as Mr. Kell observes, "a British fortress turned to use in Roman and Saxon times". It is the point on which lines of Roman road converged from the Isle of Wight and the inland country on the west. It commanded the *trajectus* of the river from Nursling on the opposite bank. I am not aware of any discoveries having been made here as at Nursling, where the railway excavations have brought to light things which might otherwise have remained buried out of sight and knowledge. Tachbury is a spot that might repay the antiquarian explorer. I crave permission to venture a few words of etymological inquiry concerning its appellation. This is undoubtedly Saxon. *Et-æsc-burh*

(the Ash-Hill) becoming, as not unusual, *'Tæsc-burh* = Tachbury. We have Ash-hill, Ash-ridge, Ash-ley, Ashton, etc.: in fact, the ash-tree seems to have been a prominent figure in the landscape; and so in the ancient delimitation of manorial lands the ash was sometimes used as a boundary-mark. Now it is a fact that in the Cornu-British tongue, *on* or *onnen* signified the ash, which the Romans with great facility may have converted into *Onna*; and thus, curiously enough, we get the name of one of the towns of the Ravennate, and we might with considerable plausibility fix its situation in this very Tachbury Mount. I know that Baxter assigns to *Onna* a place somewhere on the Itchen river, on the assumption, no doubt, of the name being a corruption of *Antona*, said to be the Roman name of that river. But this view is open to the objection that it is not known that this river was ever called by any other than the Keltic name it still bears. No doubt the Itchen was an important affluent of Ptolemy's *Τρίσαντον*; so was also the river Test, which, indeed, is called also *Anton*; therefore Baxter with more plausibility might have found a place for *Onna* on the Test than on the Itchen, had favourable circumstances directed him to it.

One word more with respect to the Ravenna list of towns. The sequence of the towns is almost our only guide to their situations. Thus we have "Bindogladia, Noviomagno, Onna, Venta Velgarum". Now with Bindogladia (B for V) at one end, and Venta Velgarum (V for B) at the other,—the former being Badbury or Wimborne, the latter Winchester,—the intermediate towns, Onna and Noviomagno (a palpable blunder for *mago*), if we locate Onna at Tachbury, where shall we find *Noviomago*? I know of no spot so likely to fulfil the requirements as a place called Burley Beacon, about four miles east-south-east of Ringwood, on the great plain of the Forest (*magh*, Kelt. plain, open land). This is undoubtedly the site of a strong British fortress, and is also called "Old Castle". It consists of a circular or oval earthwork with parapet and ditch, the area about 160 yards in diameter. A friend who measured it computes its circuit at 1,524 feet; the vallum, where perfect, is 17 feet from the area, and 28 feet to the bottom of the fosse. There

is also a circular mound near it, which seems to be another fort. A road runs through the camp, in the direction to the Avon, probably to Tyrrell's Ford. I have no evidence of Roman occupation. The Saxons seem to have estimated its earlier importance, naming it Burley (*Burh-leag*, the camp of the plain). I offer this as a speculation which the Society will receive with their usual indulgence.

After this digression, we will return to the discoveries at Nursling. Having had lately the opportunity of inspecting the interesting and valuable collections of my friends, Dr. Blackmore and Mr. E. Cunningham, which contain many relics secured by them from the excavation at Nursling, I am enabled to give some further information of the discoveries that have been made there, assisted also by notes which those gentlemen have kindly placed at my disposal. Dr. Blackmore has obtained from thence many fragments of Upchurch, New Forest, and Samian ware, both plain and embossed. He has one very remarkable specimen of dark brown or black ware, embossed like the Samian with an ornamental design, such as is not often seen on specimens found in this country, consisting of groups of male and female figures, engaged probably in the worship of some favourite divinity, but in a manner that forbids a more particular description. The fragment consists of the lower portion of a vase. The potter's stamps on the Samian are ALBINI. O; G.E.N.I.T.O.R. F; MACRINI; and two more not so legible. There are also several very good bronze fibulæ, of ordinary shape, and showing traces of enamel; also sundry other scraps of bronze articles not so easily identified.

Dr. Blackmore has favoured me with a list of the coins he has obtained from the same place, which are as follows: Nero, 2; Vespasian, 3; Domitian, 9; Trajan, 7; Hadrian, 3; Antoninus Pius, 2; Septimius Severus, 1; Julia Domna, 1; Elagabalus, 1; Alexander Severus, 1; Tetricus Senr., 3; Magnentius, 1; Constantinopolis, 1; total, 35: most of them in 1st, 2nd, and 3rd brass, and in poor condition; 5 of them are Denarii.

Mr. E. Cunningham has favoured me with the following details. On a visit to the spot, Mr. Cunningham observed three wells for water, one of which was 10 feet deep; diameter 33 inches, lined with stones smoothly cut, and

another well lined with Portland stone ; also a circular excavation 4 feet deep, 3 feet in diameter, lined with black burnt clay. This may have been an oven, he thinks, or, perhaps, a corn store. Wheat has been found in the excavation, it is said. Large quantities of very fine fragments of figured Samian ware have been dug out ; handsome bowls 9 inches in diameter ; cups, pateræ, etc., with figures of dogs, stags, lions, dolphins, men armed in various ways, some with the toga ; festoons of the vine with grapes ; and one with the cantharus between columns, crossed leaf patterns.

The potters' stamps that have been observed are as follows :—

MERCATOR	SATVRNINI
M . ANVNI	OF IVLIA VRNVNI
BYCCVS . F	PRISCINI . M
LVLGINIO	ADVOSISI . O .
AVENTIN . M	OF . CRES .
AGEDILLVS . F	FVLVIVS .
SEVERIAN . M	REBVERRIS .

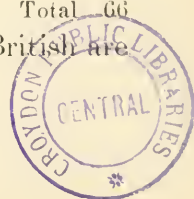
All these names, with one or two exceptions, were found in published lists. See *Roman London*, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.; *Collectanea Antiqua*, vols. ii-vi, by C. R. Smith.

Mr. Cunningham has given me the list of coins also found :

Ancient British	.	.	3	Carus	.	.	1
Vespasian	.	{	2	Magnia Urbica	.	.	1
Trajan	.	silver	1	Diocletian	.	.	2
Vespasian	.	.	1	Maximianus	.	.	1
Domitian	.	.	1	Ditto II	.	.	1
Hadrian	.	.	1	Carausius	.	.	2
Antoninus Pius	.	.	1	Allectus	.	.	2
Faustina	.	silver	1	Constantius Chlorus	.	.	1
M. Aurelius	.	.	2	Constantinus Magn.	.	.	14
Ditto	.	silver	1	Licinius	.	.	2
Lucilla	.	.	1	Constantinus Junior	.	.	7
Commodus	.	.	2	Constantinus II	.	.	1
Julia Mamæa	.	.	1	Crispus	.	.	4
Gallienus	.	.	1	Magnentius	.	.	1
Tetricus	.	.	3	Valens	.	.	1
Claudius Gothicus	.	.	1	Urbs Roma	.	.	1
Aurelianus	.	.	1				

Total 66

Most are in 1, 2, and 3 brass. The ancient British are silver of the ordinary Gaulish type.



The following objects in bronze were obtained:—6 armillæ; 12 fibulæ, various; 5 ivory and bone hairpins; portion of a statera; ditto of forceps or tweezers; ditto of a spoon; 4 finger rings, one set with lapis lazuli, intaglio, buckles, etc. In iron, 2 bits for drills; long key with 4 wards and ring handle; 2 knives 6 inches long; stylus; horse's patten;¹ hooked knife for mounting on long handle.

These discoveries prove conclusively that there was a Roman *Vicus*, or station, of considerable extent and importance, at Nursling; and they also indicate that many of the persons who inhabited it were not of the servile class in the social status, but persons who had the knowledge of, and possessed many of, the appliances and even elegancies of art in the articles of every-day use in their domestic economy; nor was money wanting, for they have left us stray specimens of the coinage of almost every Emperor, from the earliest to the latest period of the Roman power in Britain. It might appear, at first sight, strange that such a road and station as this, which led direct from Clausentum to the passage across the Test, and from thence most certainly to Vectis, and very probably to inland parts of the country, should receive no mention in the Roman *Itinerary*; an omission which possibly may be explained on the supposition that this road, although it may have been used at times for military purposes, was not primarily a part of that great system of military roads by which the Romans held the Britons in subjection to their rule. This road was more probably one of the old ways of ordinary traffic and intercourse between different parts of the country, used perhaps by the native Britons long before the Romans invaded Britain.

¹ For a description of this curious object, see *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii, p. 128.





CROMLECH AT MANORBIER, PEMBROKESHIRE.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 82.)

THURSDAY, 4TH SEPTEMBER 1884.

THE first place visited this morning was Lydstep, a quaint little place on the coast, where attention was attracted, not so much by the interesting caverns and fine sea-views, but by some curious, ancient specimens of domestic architecture in the cottages and ruined buildings still remaining. One has a room significantly known as the "gun-room"; probably the scene of operations on the part of the natives against the attacks of aggressors who may have come up the Channel and attempted to usurp the possessions of the people holding them. Fortified cottages of this kind are rare in this part of the country, though they are found in other parts along the sea-coast. The date of the houses is between the time of Edward I and Edward III.

From Lydstep the members and visitors proceeded to Manorbier, the reputed birthplace of Giraldus de Barri ("Giraldus Cambrensis"). This twelfth century Castle, one of the finest in this part of Wales, has been carefully maintained by the present owner, Mr. J. R. Cobb, who has wisely avoided restoration, and confined his attention to some pointing and strengthening of tottering walls.

Entering by the great north gate, and passing over the well kept green to the Castle hall, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, explained the details of this interesting structure, more remarkable for its picturesque position at the head of an inland bay than for its strength, as it is commanded on almost every side by hills which would place it, in modern times, at the mercy of heavy cannon. The Castle is approached by a drawbridge which spans a moat now dry. Crossing this, and passing through the fortified entrance-gateway, the visitor finds himself in the outer bailey, with the windows of the chapel, the hall, the kitchen, and the other domestic offices facing him. His attention cannot fail to be arrested by the external stone staircases which lead up to these rooms. Between the hall and the chapel is a large apartment, probably a withdrawing-room. Here, as in the chapel, the vaulting of the roof and the chimneys in the hall

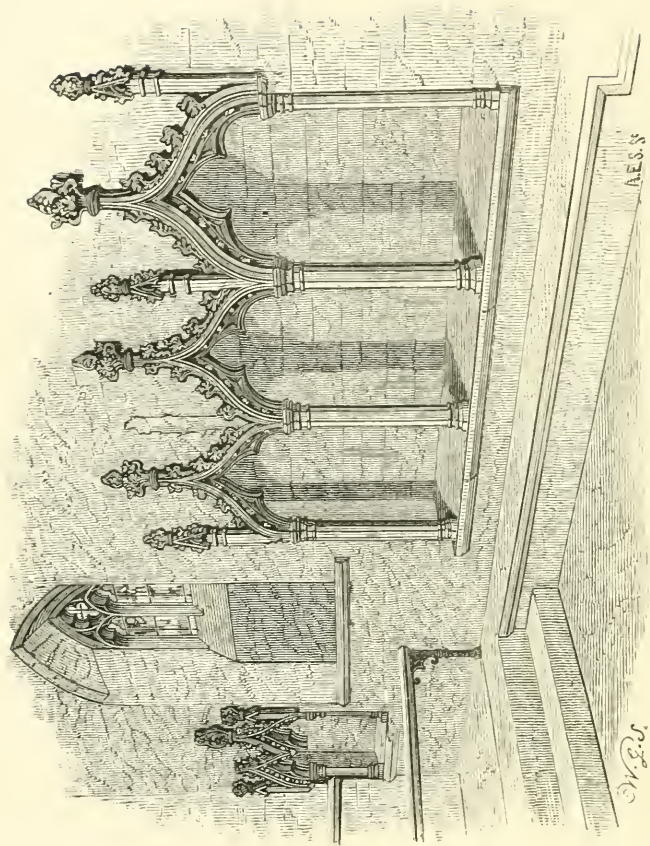
remain; the dais also can be traced, and the stairs leading up from the kitchen are nearly perfect. Much has been done of late years to show the proportions of the chapel by removing the bricks and plaster with which its chancel-windows were blocked up. The walls are almost entire; and so are the ramparts, which run round them internally, thus placing the ends of the Castle in immediate communication with each other, and with the centre,—an arrangement very useful in the time of constant wars and forays. Mr. Brock was able to show that the walls were of different date, the original Norman walls having been apparently twice raised, in order to secure additional defence. The details here notable are the triangular loopholes which occur constantly in the Castle, and an old dovecote in the wall looking into the courtyard, where are two large fireplaces formerly used by the garrison. The circular towers at the north-west and south-west corners of the Castle are of massive proportions, the first named being set very far into the courtyard. There is no keep.

Some controversy arose at the end of Mr. Brock's remarks as to the meaning of the latter portion of the word "*Manorbier*", and it was suggested that as the Castle was, under the Edwardian kings, the property of the family of Barry or Berry, of which Giraldus Cambrensis was a member, it might mean the manor-house of the Berrys; but this popular derivation was negatived by the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, the vicar, who stated that there was no reference to the Barry family in old parish documents; but that there is still in the parish a farm termed "*Beer*", to which possibly the lands now covered by the Castle belonged.

On leaving the Castle the party proceeded to the massive church, which stands on a lofty eminence looking down upon the Castle and the sea. The many singular points in its structure; its utter irregularity of plan; the strange, heavy arches on either side of its nave; the battering tower, not unlike others already noticed; the large rood-loft in the north aisle, and the equally large hagioscope in the south aisle, were all in turn commented upon by the Rev. Mr. Wratislaw in an address which he delivered in the nave, which has been printed above, at pp. 176-78. There is an effigy set on a tomb in the wall on the north side of the chancel. The figure is a knight in mail-armour, with plates down the front of the crossed legs, and elbow-pieces enriched with a quatrefoil. It may be attributed to about the year 1310. The shield of arms is charged with two bars gemels, and has been thought to mark the tomb of one of the family of Barry.

The party next inspected the ruins of the old Priory and the old rectory-house adjoining the church on the south, and then proceeded on foot along the edge of the cliffs to see a Cromlech which is famous throughout the neighbourhood. It much resembles those seen in





SEDILIA AND PISCINA, HODGESTON, PEMBROKESHIRE.

Cornwall, consisting of two short, upright stones supporting another flat stone of larger size. This was probably used for the purposes of sepulture in prehistoric times.

Returning to the village, the party took luncheon in the schoolroom, kindly placed at their disposal by the Vicar.

After luncheon the party proceeded to Hodgeston Church, and viewed the Decorated chancel, with sedilia of elegant details and a double piscina.

A long drive brought the party to Lamphey, where the ruined Palace was examined with great attention. This is a very good example of domestic architecture, built by Bishop Gower ("the rich bishop") in the thirteenth century. Some small arches of elaborate detail, running along the south wall, and a detached chapel of some importance, a Perpendicular structure, believed to be the work of Bishop Vaughan, were pointed out.

Lamphey is one of several palaces once belonging to the see of St. David's, though separated from it by Henry VIII at the Reformation, and since then allowed to go to ruin by the Devereux family, to whom it was first granted, and by subsequent owners down to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom it now belongs. The old hall, with its long and fine arcade of windows (an imitation, or rather a reproduction on a smaller scale, of Bishop Gower's Palace of St. David's), and the chapel with its elegant east window, were both much admired; and great regret was expressed at the ruin caused by courtiers to sacred buildings which the ancient Church did its best to preserve.

The party, on entering the grounds, were met by Mr. Lewis Mathias of Lamphey Court, on whose property, near the house, the ruins stand. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, entered into some explanation of the fine sight. He pointed out some very beautiful little arches forming an open parapet, which formed a series running along the south wall. They looked very much more as if intended for ornament rather than use as windows. This was thought to be one proof that the place had been built by Bishop Gower, because similar features had been noticed at the ruins of the Palace at St. David's, and another at Swansea, both of which were built by him. The palace of Lamphey was probably built about a hundred years after the building of Manorbier Castle, and in that short space of time it could be seen what progress had been made in English architecture. There was nothing of a fortified character in the building, except a very insignificant, little outer wall. It appeared that a considerable addition had been made to the Palace after its first erection, and it was difficult to tell why a second great hall should have been made.

Before leaving, the party were very hospitably entertained at tea, by Mr. and Mrs. Mathias, on the grounds of Lamphey Court.

Those who alighted at Penally on the return journey were well repaid their examination of the "small cross", 6 ft. 6 in. high, ornamented on both sides with interlaced ribbon patterns. The eastern side has its ornamentation more elaborate than that on the western side, indicating thereby, we are told, that the cross should face, as it does, towards the western end of the church. There are peculiarities in the details of the angulated and interlaced ornament on the eastern side of the boss of the cross which Mr. Romilly Allen, who is now for the first time making a critical analysis of all the examples of this class of ancient stone decoration in Great Britain, will find of interest in his work. The leaves and berries and knotted stems on the upper part of the eastern face of the shaft are not improbably intended to represent ivy. The cross itself is composed of four equal arms of the so-called Maltese shape, with interlacing patterns, and perforated with four small orifices separating the four limbs. Some writers have attributed the date of the twelfth century to this relic; but it is much older. On the north side of the church stands the massive shaft of another cross with rude lacertine and interlaced patterns; the mortice hole at the top and the curved outline of the upper surface sufficiently indicate the size and position of the cross which originally was supported on this shaft. There are some slabs of large size built into the church walls. The church of Penally is disappointing to the archæologist, who finds here an example of a misguided restoration, which has thrust the organ in front of the western door under the ancient tower, blocking up this important thoroughfare and darkening a church quite sombre and gloomy enough from the effect of too much modern stained glass. The best object to glance at here is the twelfth century tombstone or slab in the south aisle, bearing an incised cross upon three steps, in memory of William de Nauntone and Isemay his wife, perhaps the founders of the church. Some pious but ignorant hand has let into the slab two carved faces taken from the corbels or capitals of two of the original arches; but the different quality and colour of the stone quickly reveal the ingenious fraud. The battering tower and the details of the font generally resemble most of the others in the district. The so-called "chapel of St. Daniel," now a fern-house of a novel kind, being glazed over and having ferns of the greatest beauty growing naturally on the walls, demands closer investigation than the Association was able to give to it. Little is known of the history, and less of the plan and purpose, of this crumbling relic.

At the evening meeting, held at the Town Hall about nine o'clock, the chair was taken by Mr. Thos. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*.

Sir James Picton, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Notes on the Place

Names in Pembrokeshire illustrative of its History and Ethnology", which has been printed at pp. 109-16.

Mr. E. Laws, *Hon. Local Secretary*, who has studied most of the phases of early Welsh and British life in the district, would not corroborate the assertion that the ancient name of Tenby was "Denbigh y Pyscod", as given by the author of the paper, from works quoted above at p. 113.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, deprecated hasty conclusions as to the significance and derivation of place-names, for he had found by long experience that the attempt to explain modern names by modern words was very often wrong, although at first sight apparently right.

Mr. Edward Laws then read a paper on "The Ethnology of Pembrokeshire", which has been already printed at pp. 22-27.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH.

To-day the party, led by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., to whom for many years past the Association has confided the arduous duties of Honorary Congress Secretary, drove to view the "Stack Rocks", the "Huntsman's Leap", the "Caldron", and the so-called "Danish Camp" on the edge of the precipitous cliff. They then proceeded to St. Govan's rock-bound Chapel and Wishing Well. Although a remote antiquity has been ascribed to this little edifice, there is no difficulty in assigning the date of the existing building, which, from the pointed doorway on the north side, a detail of the original structure, must be placed in the thirteenth century. The cell of the hermit, who became afterwards the patronymic saint, is to the east of the chapel, entered by a doorway on the left of the altar; the windows have been at one time provided with iron bars, now lost. In the floor on the north side is a small well, supplied by a spring which probably supplies also the "Wishing Well", now covered with a pyramidal erection of rough stone, lower down the cleft to the sea. In the chapel well, according to living memory, crooked pins and other equally potent apparatus of magic and witchery have been found; while the saint, whose supernatural aid was in vogue with the maleficent, had a bright side to his attributes, for he was all-powerful to grant the wish of those who sat for a moment in his cell, provided the wish were never divulged; and crutches and staffs, now abandoned, testified at one time to the curative virtues of the detached well. The date attributed to St. Govan's history, the sixth century, may possibly account for the absurdly distant date which some would give to the chapel.

Bosherston Church was the next point, where the members were

met by the Rev. George H. Scott, M.A., Rector of Rhoscrowther, who, in the absence of the Vicar, the Rev. C. Morgan, through illness, described the principal objects of interest in the sacred edifice. Here, the churchyard cross, with part of the chamfered shaft gone, and having a rudely sculptured head of the Saviour at the crossing of the limbs; the low-set lepers' window in the south wall of the chancel; the effigies of a lady in the north transept and of a civilian in the south transept; and the font, sadly injured by the same restoring mania which has also meddled with the old windows and the entrance doorway, were the principal details to be looked at.

About two o'clock Stackpole Court was reached, and after luncheon, provided by the landlord of the Cobourg Hotel on the lawn, some of the ladies and gentlemen set off with Colonel and Lady Victoria Lambton to the prehistoric village on Stackpole Warren. Another portion of the party, by permission of the Earl of Cawdor, who was unfortunately absent from home, inspected the library and family pictures in the house.

At Stackpole Warren are abundant traces of an extensive prehistoric village, where the well-known, but scarcely well-understood circular and partly circular outlines of walling, testify to an occupation by a people who have left behind them bones of the primogene ox, arrow-heads and other flint implements, a few of which were picked up on this occasion, limpet shells, handmade pottery, and other traces of their manners and customs. About twenty-five years ago the late Earl of Cawdor found here an enamelled bronze fibula, now deposited in the British Museum. Systematic investigation conducted here on a large scale could not fail to reveal many of the secrets of the past, and there is little doubt that the objects which would come to light would increase the importance and value of the little that has hitherto been obtained by very insufficient researches.

The party next proceeded to pay a passing visit to Stackpole Elidur, or Cheriton Church, as it is indifferently called, where they inspected, under the guidance of the Rev. J. E. Brown, M.A., the fine effigy of Elidur de Stackpole, as supposed, and the interesting monuments and effigies in the Cawdor Chapel, upon which Colonel Bramble made some remarks. Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A., described an Elizabethan silver chalice belonging to the Communion-plate. The seventeenth century tomb of Roger Lort, through whom the Stackpole property came to the Cawdor family, was also examined. In the south chapel is the sepulchral stone inscribed, in early capital letters, CAMVLORIS—FILI . FANNVC—. The form of the letters may perhaps be referred to the seventh or eighth century.

The evening meeting at the Town Hall, which was presided over by the Rev. G. Huntington, M.A., Vicar of Tenby, was largely attended.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on "The Planting of the Plantagenet." Having spoken at some length of the castles with which the neighbourhood was dotted, the writer went on to give accounts from the works of "Giraldus" and others of how Henry II subdued Demetia, or South Wales, by the aid of his Frenchmen. The conquest of South Wales, said the writer, seemed to have gone hand in hand with that of Ireland, separated as that country was from St. David's Head by so narrow a strait that William Rufus had said he thought he might build a bridge across, and so annex the island; but his words being carried to the Prince of Leinster, they were treated with scorn, as uttered by one who could have no trust in God if he relied thus solely on his own achievements, and, therefore, his boasts would come to nothing. This king did little towards subduing the Welsh in 1095, when he led an army against them to revenge the slaughter of many Frenchmen the year before; and this year they had stormed the Castle of Montgomery, and killed the inhabitants. The River Alan flowed along the rosy valley, separating the site of St. David's Cathedral from the cemetery on the other side, in which was seen a marble stone polished by the feet of the passers over it, and known by the name of Lochlever. To this spot came Henry II on his return from Ireland, passing over the stone on the way to his devotions at the shrines of St. Andrew and St. David in the cathedral. He walked ashore, with the scrip and staff of a pilgrim, to meet a procession of the clergy at the white gate. In the meantime a Welshwoman threw herself at the king's feet, groaning and crying out "Lochlever, defend our race and country from this man." When reproved by those who understood her language she cried out the more, referring to the well-known prophecy of Merlin, that the king of England who triumphed over Ireland and returned with blood-red hand should die on the stone of Lochlever. The name meant "talking-stone". It was 10 ft. long, 6 ft. wide, and 1 ft. thick. Emma, the King's sister, married David Prince of Wales in 1173, and this was one of the marriages which, if not always the immediate means of restoring peace to the kingdoms, yet insensibly brought them together by bonds more durable than those of conquest. Though the Plantagenet was securely planted in Wales, continued the speaker, it required skilful gardening and attention before the exotic broom was firmly rooted. This was shown by certain statutes. One Act of the reign of Edward III should be remembered, if many others deserve to be forgotten, and that was the abolition of an old and reprehensible practice of sending slaves over to Ireland for sale. The second scene in the history of Pembrokeshire contributes its incidents in the planting of the Lancastrian dynasty by Henry IV, whose influence in South Wales was great through his marriage, by which he was created

Earl of Hereford by Richard II in 1397. Milford Haven was the port of landing of a yet more popular favourite of the Welsh, in the person of Henry Earl of Richmond, son of Edmund Tudor. He rested his claim to the throne on his Lancastrian descent, and the suicidal events and battles of the two factions were brought to a close on Bosworth Field in 1485, and a new world was opened to commerce and the enterprise of a rising generation. If England lost some of her colonies, her influence, in spite of this, continued to advance, and the pages of our later history, with less cruelty to record, were not less teeming with deeds of daring and heroism and self-denial than were those of the times which went before. The result of new ideas of government and confidence in the strength and wisdom of the people showed itself in the increased power and self-confidence of the Parliament, and the ultimate struggle between it and the Crown. The movement came from above rather than below, and the county members were chiefly answerable for the progress of that revolution. One of the most remarkable features of it was the excess of religious zeal, amounting to fanaticism in the people. They threw away the symbols of the ancient faith, but religious feeling in the heart, the growth of centuries of training, had left its mark. Pembrokeshire had its full share of the horrors of the civil war between Charles I and his Parliament, which had been described by Phillips in his *Civil War in Wales*. The events of the war at Manorbier, Carew, Pembroke, Tenby, and Lamphey Castle were deeply interesting. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Morgan for the paper.

The Rev. W. O. B. Allen, M.A., next read a paper on "Flemish Chimneys in Pembrokeshire", which has been already printed at pp. 117-123.

A short discussion followed.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., did not deny that the Flemings had been in that part of the country; in what numbers he could not say. But he asked why they should be called upon to say that a round chimney was a Flemish chimney? There was nothing to prove it, and no such features were found in Flanders.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, said he had found examples of this style of chimney at a place opposite the blacksmith's shop at Tenby (which was probably of late twelfth century date), at Manorbier, and at Lamphey Palace, and in the locality generally. They were different from other round chimneys found in other parts of England, some of them being of remarkable size, nearly as large as the buildings they were attached to.

Sir James Picton, F.S.A., said it was an interesting subject. He, however, would like to know how they came to apply the name Flemish to the round chimneys, when nothing of the sort was seen in the native

parts of that people. He denied that the style of building was peculiar to Pembrokeshire, as he had seen them in other parts. A common labourer, on building a house, especially if he had a bakehouse, would place a round chimney to it. He was inclined to believe that the Flemings did settle here, but they were few in numbers.

The Rev. W. O. B. Allen, M.A., replied, and the meeting was brought to a close with a vote of thanks for the paper.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 1 APRIL 1885.

T. MORGAN, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

MISS DUNKIN, The Caxtons, Highfield Rise, Dartford, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "The Histories of Launceston and Dunheved", by Richard Peter, Town Clerk of Launceston, and O. B. Peter, A.R.I.B.A. Plymouth, 1885. 8vo.

„ „ for "The Liberty of Independent Research", a Pamphlet, by T. Kerslake, Esq., F.S.A. London, 1885.

To the Editor, J. Rothschild, Esq., for "La Sculpture Antique : Classification des Monuments de l'Egypte, et de la Grèce." Par Adr. Wagnon. Paris, 1885. 8vo.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", 1883-4.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced satisfactory progress respecting Congress arrangements at Brighton; and subsequently Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, added some further remarks.

Mr. H. Watling of Earl Stonham, Suffolk, sent for exhibition a collection of very interesting and artistically drawn sketches of Kent antiquities and archæological relics. The drawings were greatly admired.

Mr. Brock exhibited an escutcheon of carved brass from the lock of an old cabinet, destroyed in the fire of London, found in Cheapside, 16 feet below the surface.

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a numerous collection of cast-metal forgeries of the well known forms believed to have been made in vast numbers by the so called firm of "Billy and Charley."

Sir James A. Picton, F.S.A., and Mr. Brock took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. Brock read a communication from Mr. Sheraton, describing the discovery of an ancient chapel near Ludlow, as follows :—

"An interesting discovery of the foundations of a small chapel has been made within the last month in a field on the Oakley Park estate, near Felton, locally known as 'The Chapel Field', about a mile and a half from Ludlow, on the right hand side of the Shrewsbury

road. The tenant called attention to the fact that in the course of cultivating this field, stones had been frequently turned up by the plough in one particular spot; and in consequence of this statement excavations were made which at once revealed, 2 feet below the surface, a floor laid with ornamental tiles, such as were used in ecclesiastical buildings about the fourteenth century. On further investigation the entire foundation-walls of the building were laid bare, which were 2 feet thick, forming an oblong building, 19 ft. 8 ins. broad by 27 ft. 6 ins. long. The east end is semicircular, forming an apse, the radius of which is 5 ft. 8 ins., the wall here being 3 ft. 10 ins. thick. At the terminations of the semicircle is the base of a circular pillar, 2 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, which no doubt carried the arch which divided the nave from the apse. Several skeletons were found within the building, one of which measured the extraordinary length of 6 ft. 6 ins., and one was found in what was probably the grave-yard, lying on the west of the building. The curious point is that no reference to this chapel can be traced in any works treating on the ecclesiastical buildings of Shropshire. Leland, who minutely describes Ludlow and Bromfield, is silent in reference to this building, and probably did not see it. As to the date at which it was founded, how long it existed, and when it was destroyed, we are left to conjecture; but we may safely say it was a Norman chapel, and a dependency of Bromfield Priory. Four canons of Bromfield are mentioned in a charter of King Henry II, one of whom was 'Robertus presbyter de Feltune' (*vide* Eytton, under Bromfield); and as this chapel stands very near to Felton, this priest may have founded it some time about the middle of the twelfth century. Most of the ornamental floor-tiles were carried away from Ludlow, and offered for sale a few days after."

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited two views of the interior, and plan of Great St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield, and drew attention to the detailed scheme of proposed restoration. Mr. Birch promised to read a paper on the church on a future occasion.

Mr. Brock, Sir James A. Picton, Mr. E. Walford, M.A., and others took part in the discussion; and it was generally felt that the restoration of this church by a competent architect, with tender care for the archæological and historical aspects of the building, would be a very desirable undertaking.

Mr. Birch read a paper on *Domesday Book*, which will be printed, it is hoped, in a future part of the *Journal*. The author exhibited some photographic and coloured facsimiles in illustration of the paper.

In the discussion which ensued, chiefly in reference to that part of the paper which dealt with the proposed establishment of a society to issue a series of *Domesday* volumes, Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Mr. C. H. Compton, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and Mr. E. Walford, M.A., took part.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH APRIL 1885.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Report of Glasgow Archæological Society, 1885."

" " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xviii, Part 36. April 1885.

To the Author, for "Elephant Pipes in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Davenport, Iowa." By C. E. Putnam, Esq. 8vo. 1885.

Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., exhibited three mediæval crucifixes, probably from book-covers : one enamelled, and enriched with turquoises and garnets ; another of deep-blue enamel-work. They were considered to be of rare occurrence now-a-days, and from the archaic character of their art were highly appreciated.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., V.P., exhibited a small collection of miscellaneous relics, and read the following :

RESULT OF SOME EXCAVATIONS IN LONDON, AND NOTES ON PERSIAN ART.

BY REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., M.A.

I have the pleasure of laying before the Association a few objects of interest from London excavations ; also some specimens of Persian art brought direct from Persia. From London I have a solid, heavy, well-preserved Walrus tooth, another addition to Northern animal antiquities exhumed within the City boundaries. I have seen from great depths snow knives and other instruments, a platter, and sledges utilised from bones of the whale ; a carved pin of walrus bone ; two washers for wheels, of whalebone, one bearing strong and sufficient traces of a red paint, all telling of a climatic state different from our present, and also perhaps of a broad estuary of the Thames, shallow toward its shores, but possessing a deep central channel, the swim of gigantic cetacea, which from time to time, dead or living, may have been stranded on or embedded in the ooze. The present specimens come from Cannon Street and London Wall ; whence also comes an elegant bronze candlestick of the seventeenth century, and a cloth-mark mould of bronze, bearing apparently the Russian eagle and Admiralty marks. The legend is too defective for deciphering its import. On the table, also, are two pieces of turned bone, one bronze-stained ; and also a fine bronze armilla from the same excavation, and found with the Roman bronze enamelled Cock lately exhibited ; also specimens of Roman and mediæval glass, some beautifully lustrous, also from

London. The larger and gracefully domed perfume bottle is worthy of observation.

Of Persian art I have a flower-vase and water-jug of gilded brass, a girdle-knife and embossed sheath, two specimens of glass (a flower-vase and sherbet-pot), a large bronze salver engraved, a bowl coloured by copper oxide (with black ornamentation), and finally, a tortoise-shell cat of porcelain.

Persia and Persian art are subjects of peculiar, nay, unique interest. Persia, subject of prophecy in connection with three other monarchies, remains, though the others have disappeared.

Again, the influence of the Koran and subsequent schism of Mohammedanism are recorded in the art-productions of Persia. Mohammed, borrowing from Exodus (ch. xx), and aiming thereby to propitiate and draw to himself the very numerous Jewish population of Asia Minor, forbade as idolatry the making of images. In process of time a schism questioned the strict accuracy of this ordination, and Mohammedans split into the Shiah and Sunni sects; one adhering to the strict letter of the law, the other indulging a latitude of interpretation resulting first in the introduction of the human figure with face blank, and then, as a natural consequence, "the human face and form divine". These interpretations are illustrated by the ewer and water-pourer; the ornamentation of the one being strictly according to law, the other to innovations.

The centres of Persian art have been and are,—of earthenware, Kashan; of copper-work and engraving, Kashan; of beaten and engraved metal-work, Ispahan; of swords, Khorassan. These centres are illustrated by the objects before you; and beyond these I do not attempt to follow the Art-prospect, though led by the silken threads of Persia's lovely textile fabrics.

Persia appears endowed with a peculiar facility for amalgamating with itself its conquerors; and many features of Persian art and decoration are traceable to this power of amalgamation, or contact, or commerce with outlying states. Persia made its own the Indian decorative art, the pear-shaped ornaments of Kashmere, the porcelain designs and colour of Chinese ceramics; but possibly arising from the native principle before spoken of, Chinese designs lose their stiffness, and lines more flowing, and foliage and flowers more natural, follow the pencil of the pure Persian artist. He impressed also the coloured spiral lines of the Rhodian worker, so that with difficulty the one may be distinguished from the other. Again, Persian art influence is distinctly traceable in Arab and Moorish work. The conjunction may thus have occurred. Bagdad, the celebrated centre of early Mohammedan power, was ruled by enlightened Caliphs, who, in the adornment of mosques and palaces, employed neighbouring Persian artists. Some

evidence even exists of a Persian art colony in Spain in the time of the Moors. Hence arose the typical ornamentation of the Alhambra, its niches, tiles, and pendants. I believe much of the ornamentation is identical with Persian art of the present day.

Persia attained to very great perfection in Damascened steel and inlaid metal-work. The steel was produced from a particular iron placed for eight days in an evenly heated bath, heated by animal dung as containing salts alone operative in the true conversion of the metal. For inlaying, the metal was slightly scratched, and a gold or silver wire hammered in; or deeper channels were employed for larger ornament, or simply by applying gold-leaf, and burnishing. Gold leaf was largely used for the perfection of brazen work, the engraving of which must have been most laborious, as its lines are true, and so minute. In the specimens upon the table, the thin brass must have been hammered on a pattern, and then engraved and polished, the background being filled in with a black cement. Such specimens are becoming very rare. I learned at South Kensington there were but two, and at present "on loan" to Sheffield.

On the vase we have an inscription, most probably from the Koran, with a superior border of leaves; and then the whole body of the vase covered by foliage and flowers, amongst which appear the nightingale; of beasts, the dromedary, the deer, the cat, etc. The capped ewer is of the same style of ornamentation, with the addition of *two full-length human figures* and two inscriptions. One figure is bare-headed, the other wears the furred and conical Persian head-dress. The figure of the cat is extremely life-like, and peculiar in the breadth betwixt the eyes. The South Kensington specimen is white, but has the characteristics of that now exhibited. Of the two specimens of glass, the flower-vase has the Cashmerian ornament cut and coloured; the sherbet-ewer, the Persian "sun". The Khorassan dagger-knife is inlaid, and the wood-lined sheath ornamented by the *repoussé* groups. The blue cup is Venetian, and ornamented with Turkish insignia, made for the Levant market. Its date is the seventeenth century. Also an early Rhodian jug, capped and bound with bronze.

I add, as congruous, five water-vessels in the form of animals. One is a horse from Kankar Skelissi in Asia Minor. They singularly unite the old pottery of Kasan with the almost prehistoric bronzes of Asia Minor and the islands. Also a string of native glass beads from the first-named place.

Of these extraordinary "art" productions, it has been said an analogy certainly existed between their forms and the early pottery of the Troad. Are they toys, lamps, or water-vessels? Certainly I think the latter; and the stagnation of Eastern life and idea is sufficient to account for the archaic character. Water does not rise above

its level. The horse is of red clay, with monumental legs, and dark green glaze; the other animal is of bright yellow, with prodigious and curled tail.

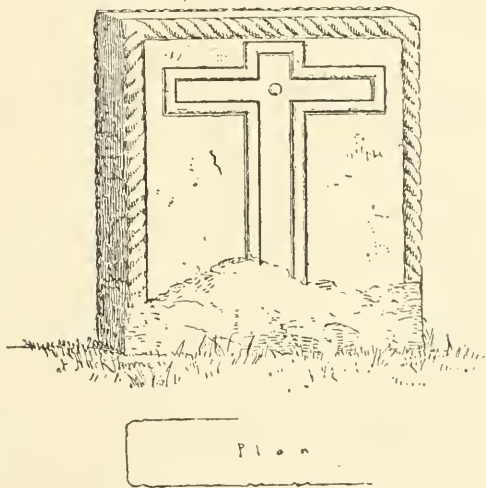
I would advise a visit to the splendid collection of Persian art now on view at the Fine Arts' Club in Savile Row. As in South Kensington, so here, one or two pieces of old Spanish glass appear to do duty for Persian.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, sent for exhibition a sculptured arm of a Cupid in marble, a terra-cotta head, two small marble heads of Roman period, and some other miscellaneous objects of recent acquisition from classic sites.

Mr. Francis Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a small bell, *temp.* Elizabeth; a Russian triptych, or *obras*, from the site of the battle of the Alma; a small silver ring-seal with initials T. O., and a right hand couped on the bezel, from Ireland; and a set of fish-knives in finely chased sheath.

Mr. J. F. Hodgetts made some interesting remarks on the triptych.

Mr. T. J. Willson sent for exhibition a drawing to scale of the upright stone in the churchyard at Hackthorne, co. Lincoln, and contributed the following notes: "This village is situate a mile and a



Stone in the Churchyard at Hackthorne.

half east of the High Street from Lincoln to the Humber. The stone, which is from the quarries at or near Lincoln, eight miles distant, is in good preservation, but does not appear to bear any inscription. The manner in which the outline of the Latin cross is incised is best seen in the section. This and the cabled ornament of the margin connect the cross with a slab discovered some thirty years ago in the wall of the church, as is seen in the tracing of it. In *The Gentleman's Magazine*

(1794, i, p. 500) is an account and etching of a second slab of the same dimensions, and apparently identical in design, discovered in Lincoln. Few traces of the Saxon period appear to exist in the neighbourhood. One is a fragment existing some years since in the floor of the church at Saxilby, six miles west of Lincoln, displaying an interlaced ornament, in relief, of circles and right lines." (See *Arch. Journal*, vi, p. 400.)

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Watling, a series of archæological albums of coloured drawings prepared by that gentleman during recent tours in England. These consisted of—1, scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, from rood-screens, painted glass, and carved stone-work; 2, the antiquities of Blythborough, Suffolk; 3, effigies of saints from Suffolk churches; 4, miscellaneous, Roman pottery, bronzes, mediæval pewter chalices and vessels used at the Communion Service at Irnham, Lincolnshire; and a curious sundial of elegant design. The drawings were highly admired.

Mr. E. M. Thompson, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Paleographer*, read a paper on "Ælfrie's Vocabulary", which has been printed at pp. 144-152.

An interesting discussion arose after the reading, in which Mr. Birch, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., Mr. J. F. Hodgetts, and the Chairman took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1884.

THE REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, V.P., M.A., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot for the Officers and Council was declared open, and taken at the close of the usual interval, with the following result :

President.

[THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.]

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.; THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., F.R.S.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; THE VERY REV. THE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, DEAN OF WORCESTER; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L., F.S.A.; THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L.; SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, Bart.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; G. TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM
W. C. BORLASE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
II. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.
JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., P.S.A.
A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.
S. I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

(With a seat at the Council.)

Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE, Esq.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

ARTHUR COPE, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.

R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,

F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., F.S.A.

GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

Auditors.

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

| R. HOWLETT, Esq.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the following :

“THE TREASURER’S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DEC. 31ST, 1884.

“In comparing my Report of the previous year with that I have now the honour of submitting, it will be seen that the balance in hand has been somewhat diminished notwithstanding the further economies practised during the year 1884. The reason of this is that the receipts have not come up to the expenditure, caused principally through the falling off in the subscriptions received; but at the same time, as a larger sum is outstanding, for arrears due to the Association, than usual, this fact will, I trust, influence favourably our future receipts under this head.

“The Congress at Tenby, including a small sum received from an excursion, together with a donation of £5 received from Mr. W. H. Cope, has yielded only £36 : 16 : 9, consequent upon the heavy expenses attending the greater distance than usual at which preliminary arrangements had to be made.

“The balance in hand, in favour of the Association, on 31st December 1884, was £102 : 19 : 10; but with a good Congress in view, and a fair roll of new members elected, our financial prospect is not discouraging.

“THOMAS MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer.*”

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1884.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1883 in favour of the Association	152	16	0
Annual subscriptions and donations	£215	3	0
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	56	16	0
	<hr/>		
Sale of publications	.	.	.
Received from Mr. J. Reynolds proceeds of London Excursion, 1883	£2	9	3
Balance of receipts from the Tenby Congress	34	7	6
	<hr/>		
	36	16	9

£480 8 6

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct, the balance in favour of the Association being £102 : 19 : 10.

A. CHASEMORE }
R. HOWLETT } *Auditors.*

April 30, 1885.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	£29	7	0
Illustrations to the same	.	.	.
Less donations from sundries given towards defraying this expense	8	14	0
	<hr/>		
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	.	.	.
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	.	.	.
Rent for 1884, and clerk's salary	62	3	7
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	10	2	3
Insurance of books at 19 Montague Place	0	10	0
Insurance on goods at the Printing Office in Sar-dinia Street	5	5	0
Balance to new year in favour of the Association	102	19	10
	<hr/>		
	£480	8	6

The adoption of this Report and Balance Sheet having been unanimously carried, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read the

“HON. SECRETARIES’ REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING
DEC. 31, 1884.

“The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year, 1884.

“1. By comparing the list of members in the current part of the *Journal*, dated 31 March 1885, representing the strength of the Association at the close of 1884, a total of 441 names is shown against 433 names in the *Journal* of the previous year. We hope that this slight increase in numbers may be well maintained in years to come.

“During 1884, forty-five complete works, or parts of works, relating to archæological subjects have been presented to the Library of the Association; but we regret to say that no arrangement has yet been made with a view of rendering the large collection of books available for consultation.

“Forty-four of the most important papers read at the recent Congress held at Dover, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the year 1884, which is illustrated with twenty-five Plates or woodcuts, comprising nearly one hundred separate figures, some of which have been either in part or wholly contributed by the liberality of some of our Associates and friends, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a large number of papers accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances may permit.

“W. DE GRAY BIRCH } *Hon.*
“E. P. LOFTUS BROCK } *Secs.*”

A new rule was adopted to the following effect :

“In the event of its coming to the notice of the Council that the conduct of any Associate has been unbecoming, the Council has power to terminate the membership of such Associate.”

An alteration of the rule relating to the number of Vice-Presidents was carried, increasing the number to sixteen.

A series of votes of thanks was carried unanimously to all those who had by their co-operation assisted in the labours of the Association during the past Congress at Tenby and London session.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, described at some length the proposed arrangements in connection with the Congress to be held during the summer at Brighton, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read the following

REVIEW OF AN AUTUMN EXCURSION AND OF THE SESSION.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*.

As a prelude to a review of the past session, some account of an excursion made in the interval between the Congress at Tenby in 1884, and the resumption of our evening meetings, must not be omitted.

On the 23rd of October a detachment of members, who had previously visited together some of the historic sites of London, assembled to traverse part of the same ground again; and the progress of modern improvements had in the interval caused a remarkable change in the course of the streets round about the Tower of London in the east, and Westminster in the west.

Let us take a departure from the Monument on Fish Street Hill, emerging from a station of the Underground Railway, named after this noble work of Sir Christopher Wren, a record of the great fire. It exceeds in height, by 82 feet, the Column of Trajan in Rome, being 202 feet high, the exact distance from the spot where the fire first broke out. The shaft of this Doric column is fluted, and the pedestal rises 40 feet from the ground. The architect's intention was to have surmounted the Monument with a statue of the King instead of the senseless gilt ball which now badly represents fire on its top. The sculptured face of the pedestal is one of the few examples London possesses of any delineation of contemporary history. Allegorical, according to the spirit of the age (begun in 1671, and finished in 1677), the design of the sculpture presents a bold figure of Charles II in the costume of a Roman emperor, looking down upon a female with head dejected, and hair dishevelled, prostrate amidst the ruins. This is the ruined city of London, and Time, standing behind, is raising her up. A woman by her side points upwards to two goddesses seated on clouds in the air,—the one Peace, and the other Plenty. The beehive of industry is near her feet. Citizens are at work, and so are builders, prepared to rear up London again from her ashes. A dragon, one of the supporters of the City arms, stretches his paw over the pedestal-moulding. King Charles is attended by the Sciences, Nature and Architecture; and the Duke of York stands behind the King, his brother. In a cave under their feet is seen a very uncouth figure of gnawing Envy. The inscriptions on the sides of the pedestal are characteristic.

Proceeding down the wide, new street which has swallowed up the old, tortuous, and narrow thoroughfare of Eastcheap and Tower Street, Mark Lane and Seething Lane are passed. In a court leading out of the former stands the tower of All Hallows-Staining, being all that

remains of the old church, lately pulled down ; the monuments having been removed to St. Olave's, Hart Street. And who will not remember the facsimile of this tower erected in the Health Exhibition at South Kensington, last year, among the reproductions of ancient London executed by Mr. Birch, Honorary Secretary of the Middlesex Archæological Society ?

In St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, is an inscription to the memory of Sir John Minnes, which I have carefully copied from the stone, and which shall be given in full, with my translation of it, because it is an example of the Jacobean, scholar-like Latin in which it is written. It falls in with the subjects brought to our notice during this excursion, and has been generally overlooked.

HEIC SITVS EST
 D^S IOHANNES MENNESIVS EQ AVR
 SANDOVICI CANTIANVS
 ANDREE MENNESII AR(MATTHÆI FILII) FILIVS
 EX IANA IOHIS BLECHENDEN AR FILIA
 VIR PROBVVS FORTIS BENIGNVS PIVS
 REI MEDICÆ CHYMICÆ POETICÆ GNARVS
 OMNIVM QVIBVS NOTVS DELICIE
 VIX ADVLTVS ORBIS OMNES FERE ORAS APPVLIT
 SITVS REGIMINIS COMERCII MORVM EXPLORATOR
 TERRA MARIQVE IN HOSTES ET PERDVELLVS
 IACOBO CAROLO PRIMO ET SECVNDO REGIVS
 HYPARCHVS STRATEGVS HYPOTHALASSIARCHA
 REI CLASSIARIE INSPECTOR SVMMVS
 VARIIS ET ARDVIS CONFECTVS
 CLARÆ PROSAPIÆ DECVS NOMINIS VLTIMVS
 NATVS MARTIJ 1598
 18^{VO} FEBR 1670 DENATVS

Translation.

Here lies
 Sir John Minnes, Knight,
 A Kentish man of Sandwich,
 Son of Sir Andrew Minnes, Knight, the son of Matthew,
 By Jane, daughter of Sir John Blechenden, Knt.
 A man upright, brave, kind, dutiful,
 Skilled in medicine, chemistry, poetry,
 The delight of all who knew him.
 When scarcely of age he had touched at almost every coast of the globe,
 Sites of commercial rule ; the censor of manners ;
 By land and by sea, against hostile and open foes ;
 Under King James and Charles the First and Second
 Sub-Chief of the Ordnance, Vice-Admiral,
 Chief Controller of the Navy.
 Worn out by his various and arduous (labours),
 The glory of an illustrious ancestry, the last of his name.
 Born in March 1598.
 Unborn 18 Feb. 1670.

Pepys, in his *Diary*, makes frequent mention of his fellow official at the Navy Office in Seething Lane, and often were they going together from the City to transact business with the Duke of York, who was then Lord High Admiral, and the same personage before referred to, who stands behind King Charles on the pedestal of the Monument, afterwards James II. This King with his troops, at the battle of the Boyne, "running away like sheep", exhibited by Mr. Edward Walford on a fine old engraving by Theodore Maas, at an evening meeting, is the "reverse of the medal" on the Monument, where are seen only the laurel crowns of victors.

The new, wide street opens out on Tower Hill, the scene of many a holocaust of politicians, heroes, traitors, and great men. Within the garden enclosure is now seen a square pavement, which marks the spot where formerly stood the scaffold. The exact site could not be pointed out when we last visited Tower Hill; but in digging for the Underground Railway, four stumps of timber were found at some depth, which had been the supports of the scaffold, and a suitable demarcation has been traced out to authenticate the spot for posterity.

Hence the victims of party strife cast their last look on the chantry-chapel adjoining the venerable church of All Hallows, Barking, which now stands exposed to view, by the opening of the new street, in all the disfigurement to which it has been subjected by ignorant builders. A parish storehouse, of brick, close to the northern porch, is only a degree less hideous than the square brick tower and warehouse which have invaded the west end of the church. Surely an effort might be made to restore it to something like its former outline, and open out the lower parts of the walls, which are now concealed by earth almost up to the windows.

The Tower of London was now near at hand, and crossing the dry moat we again found ourselves within its massive ramparts. Proceeding towards the Cradle Tower, it appeared that a large warehouse had been pulled down since our last visit, and underneath it was found a considerable portion of a Roman wall, which had been arched over by the care of the more recent builders, and was thus, on the demolition of the storehouse, exposed to view. Let us hope for a professional account of these most interesting discoveries, and also of the well which was looked for, and has been arrived at in the White Tower since our last visit.

Leaving the Tower, and passing by Mark Lane, Mincing Lane (formerly Minchin) attracted our attention from its name of the Minchius or Nuns of St. Helen's Convent, whither we were now directing our steps. Here, in the church, Mr. Patrick gave an interesting history of this foundation and its monuments. The Benedictine Priory of St. Helen, Bishopsgate, was founded about A.D. 1212, and became vested

in the canons of St. Paul's, who in about 1216 granted permission to William, son of William the goldsmith, to found a priory for nuns. The Rev. Thomas Hugo disproves its foundation by William Basing, as recorded by Stowe. Mr. Hugo has collected some curious particulars concerning the last ten years of the Priory and its topography, and among the contemporary documents which he has brought together, the Constitutions of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the regulation of the nuns of St. Helen's are interesting, and characteristic of the times.¹ They show how strictly the inmates were kept. For instance, "We notify to you, Prioress, that ye have no looking nor spectacles outward, through the which ye might fall in worldly dilectation. Also we ordain and enjoin you, Prioress and Convent, that some sad woman and discrete, of the said religion, honest, well named, be assigned to the shutting of the cloister-doors and keeping of the keys, that none person have entry nor issue into the place after complein bell, neither in no other time, by the which the place may be slandered in time coming." "Also we enjoin you that all dancing and revelling be utterly forborne among you, except Christmas and other honest times of recreation among yourselves used, in absence of seculars in all wise." Dated in the year 1439.

Alice Ashfeld, one of the Prioresses, granted a lease of certain lands and tenements to Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman, for ninety-nine years, for the annual rent of £11 : 6 : 8. On this site he built Crosby Hall in 1466. "He builded this house of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and it was the highest at that time in London." He was buried in St. Helen's Church, in which are many monuments to the memory of inhabitants and "men of worship" of Bishopsgate, such as Sir Thomas Gresham, who died in 1579; William Bond, merchant-adventurer, who died in 1576, and seems to have lived in Crosby Hall; Sir John Spencer, 1609, whose son-in-law, Lord Compton, erected to his memory "a fair, goodly tomb in the south aisle of the choir, as in a chapel by itself." There are monuments also to the Pickeringes, the Kirwins, and to many other persons of more or less celebrity. Sir Julius Adelmars Cesar, a Master of the Rolls, who died in 1636, might well have omitted the strange conceit of giving his bond, with seal attached, to Heaven to resign his life willingly whenever required. Yet such a document is sculptured upon a black slab on his monument, as "witness his hand and seal".

One Richard Baneroft, in atonement for ill-gotten wealth, founded an almshouse and school, and left 20s. annually to the minister to preach a commemoration-sermon, when his body, embalmed and kept in a chest with glass cover, in his mausoleum, was to be brought out and inspected by the recipients of his bounty.

¹ From the Cotton. Rolls, v, 6.

The goldsmith who founded St. Helen's Priory reminds me, before leaving the City, to say a word upon the goldsmiths' shops in Lombard Street, which developed afterwards into bankers', many of whom became founders of noble families. In Lombard Street, towards Birchin Lane, stood the house of William de la Pole, created Knight-Banneret by Edward III in France. He was the King's merchant; and Richard, his elder brother, a merchant of Hull, held a similar employ under the same King, who calls him "*dilectus mercator Ricardus de la Pole, Pincerna noster.*" William's son was created Earl of Suffolk, yet retained his office of King's merchant, and lived in his father's house. The misfortunes of the family in after times have often been subjects of record in our *Transactions*.

The first regular banker was Mr. Francis Child, goldsmith, who began business soon after the Restoration, and lived in Fleet Street. He afterwards succeeded to the business of Alderman Barkwell, who was ruined by the shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672. His books were placed in the hands of Mr. Child. Middleton and Campbell, in 1692, were succeeded by Mr. Coutts. Sir Robert Ducie, Bart., Sheriff in 1620, and Mayor in 1631, was banker to Charles I, and became the founder of a noble and opulent family. The same may be said of William Ward, a wealthy goldsmith, and jeweller to Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I. His son, Humble Ward, married Frances, granddaughter of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, and he himself was in 1643 created Lord Ward of Birmingham.¹

On Friday the 24th, the bankers of Charles I still dwelling in our minds, we set off for Whitehall, a place which seems always to recall the sad tragedy there enacted, rather than the many scenes of revelry which preceded it. The old palace, originally built by Hubert de Burgh, *temp.* Henry III, after passing through the hands of the Archbishops of York, and then of Cardinal Wolsey, became at last a royal palace. This old building occupied a large space facing the river, and extending to St. James' Park northward, and from the Cock-Pit, near Westminster Bridge, to Spring Gardens. It contained upwards of a thousand apartments, and was mostly consumed by fire in 1697. The banqueting-house, which now remains, was built by Inigo Jones for James I, being part only of a magnificent plan which was never carried out. The great room of this edifice has been converted into a chapel, and by the courtesy of Mr. John Robinson we were admitted to view it. The ceiling, painted by Rubens, represents the apotheosis of James I in nine compartments, and cost £3,000. Cipriani, at the beginning of the present century, had £2,000 for retouching it. One of the old crypts under the present Home Office, in Whitehall Yard, was next visited. We then were permitted to view Her Majesty's

¹ Pennant's *London*, 1791.

Almonry, where the alms are distributed with due ceremony at the usual seasons, according to ancient custom. An interesting account of these ceremonials was given by Mr. J. Hanby, the Sub-Almoner, the Lord High Almoner being one of our late Presidents, the Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, Dean of Worcester.

Westminster Abbey irresistibly drew us to see much there left unvisited on the last occasion, and we were fortunate in having an excellent *cicerone* in Mr. Wright, Master of the Works, who enabled us to get at portions of the old monastic buildings, including the Jerusalem Chamber.

Out of the labyrinth of tombs and monuments in the Abbey I will here make mention of two only, suggested by the recollection of our Tenby Congress. The Valences, Earls of Pembroke in South Wales, were associated with heroic deeds of valour, and with the massive castles and other buildings which they possessed. Here honour is done to their memory by two of the most elaborate tombs in the Abbey. Firstly, that of William de Valence in St. Edmund's Chapel, "the lower part of which is of stone, and of native workmanship, and presents nothing very remarkable. Upon this is placed a wooden chest, once covered with gilt and enamelled copper, but of which nearly every morsel has been stripped off. The arcades were most likely supported by pillars; and on the top of the base of the wooden tomb, and in front of each niche, was a round, enamelled plate containing the arms of the person occupying that particular arcade. One or two of these roundels still remain. On the top of the wooden tomb is the figure of William de Valence in the military dress of the time." Among other peculiarities of the figure, pointed out by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, is that the shield "is worn on the hip instead of on the left arm", and these peculiarities lead him to consider the figure and upper part of the tombs to be of foreign manufacture, and probably (for the reasons he gives) from Limoges. William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1296.

Secondly, the tomb of Aymer de Valence is one of three in the choir, on the north side of the sacrum. Round the basement are "little figures of the relatives as mourners. On the top is the recumbent effigy of the deceased, with angels at the head, and an animal at the feet; while over all is a pedimental stone canopy supported by columns, and buttresses rising from the angles of the basement. The effect of the painting and gilding must have been gorgeous in the extreme."¹ Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1324. He was son of William de Valence, and was much employed in the Scottish wars of Edward I. Under Edward II we find him at Bannockburn, and he

¹ *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*. By G. G. Scott, R.A., F.S.A. 1863.

was afterwards engaged in the punishment of Gaveston. After sitting in judgment on Humphrey de Bohun, he accompanied Queen Isabella into France, and was there assassinated in 1324.

Of the remains of monastic buildings, the Jerusalem Chamber is not the least remarkable, it having been one of the rooms of the Abbot's house, built between 1376 and 1386. It was either the withdrawing room to the Abbot's hall, or else was itself a guesten-chamber for the constant influx of strangers who enjoyed the good Abbot's hospitality. The earliest historical reference to this chamber is probably in the account of the death of Henry IV in the *Continuatio Historie Croylandensis*,—an event dramatised by Shakespeare, which is familiar to every Englishman. In the year 1624 John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of Westminster, entertained the French Ambassador here with great splendour; and it is probable that the architectural peculiarities of the room as we now see them (which are of the period of James I), the alterations of the fire-place, and armorial bearings in the north window, were the work of this dignitary. The room is used for the sittings of Convocation, and for the meetings of the Dean and Chapter. The painted glass in the north window is much more ancient than any portion of the edifice in which it now finds a place. The tapestry is of the time of Henry VIII, with the exception of one piece, which is of the period of the first James, and is very similar to the well known examples in the hall at Hampton Court Palace.

On leaving the Abbey by Poet's Corner, and among the monuments to the inspired of the Muses, is one plain slab with the modest inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson!" This learned contemporary of learned men in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, was born in 1572. He was the friend of Inigo Jones, and his plays have been thought second only to those of Shakespeare. On Twelfth-Night, 1605-6, he and Inigo Jones produced *The Masque of Hymen* at Whitehall, in honour of the marriage of Robert Earl of Essex, aged fourteen years, and Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, aged thirteen. In what sad consequences this ill-starred union resulted, history has not forgotten to inform us. This Robert Devereux became afterwards the great Parliamentary general.

Ben Jonson himself was married at St. Giles', Cripplegate, on 27 July 1623, to Hester Hopkins, as appears by the Register of that church. His life was a chequered one. He had been into France as tutor to the son of Sir Walter Raleigh. For twelve years he became a Roman Catholic, and in 1629-30 writes,

"Come, leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age."

But he may have been suffering from some of those baleful humours,

such as cholera, melancholy, phlegm, and blood, which called forth his admirable play of *Every Man in his Humour*.¹

A day in the country was planned for Saturday the 25th, when, at an early hour, we assembled within the quadrangle of the College or Hospital of Archbishop Whitgift, in the town of Croydon. The old building, of brick and stone, retains the same appearance as it presented in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is still kept up; and more than this, the value of the lands having greatly increased, the benefits of the Archbishop's foundation have been extended to the education of a number of boys, and new buildings have been added to meet the increasing requirements, by the Wardens who have the management of the estate. The Archbishop was in the habit of frequently visiting his poor "brothers and sisters", as he called the inmates, and the room in which he slept was shown us. The massive door of the chamber was well furnished with strong bolts and bars, rendered necessary in the days of turbulence and religious fanaticism in which he lived. One room he ordered to be set apart for the custody of the muniments of the property, which were preserved in great boxes. In this room some of the most important of the deeds were laid out for our inspection, and were commented on by one of their custodians. Dr. A. Carpenter gave us also the benefit of his knowledge of their contents, and of the Hospital foundation. One of the deeds has an especial interest for the historian and the herald. It is dated A.D. 1600, and I will extract a translation of the first portion of it, as well as other particulars, from the *Collections of the Surrey Archaeological Society*, vol. ii, p. 106 :

"To all the faithful in Christ, to whom the present writing shall come. I, Susan Barker, daughter of Richard Tracy of Stanwaie, in the county of Gloucester, Esquire, and of Barbara Lucy, daughter of Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, in the county of Warwick, Knight, send greeting. Whereas, in time past, William Tracy, Knight, one of my ancestors, wishing to please his King, transgressed rashly against the life of Thomas, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, whatsoever may have been his rebellion, know ye that I, honouring the most loyal disposition towards her royal Majesty, of the most reverend father in God, John Whitgifte, now Archbishop of Canterbury, as also his gentleness and his truly episcopal life, and desiring that it should be made apparent that the pontifical dignity was never at all hateful to our family (as some malicious persons have reported), know ye, I say, that I, with the consent, in this behalf, of my most beloved husband, Edward Barker, Esquire, have given, granted, and confirmed to the Warden and poor of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon, of

¹ Introduction to *Every Man in his Humour*, by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A. Longmans. 1877.

the foundation of John Whitgifte, Archbishop of Canterbury, a certain annuity or yearly rent of six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, of lawful money of England, yearly to be paid and issuing from and out of our mansion-house called Lancaster College, lying and being in the Churchyard of St. Paul, London: To have and perceive the aforesaid annuity, &c., to the aforesaid Warden and poor of the Holy Trinity in Croydon aforesaid, and their successors, for the term of one thousand years next following, and fully to be completed, to be paid yearly at the four most usual feasts or terms of the year", etc.

Susan Barker signs first, at the foot of the deed; and on the dexter side, in the margin, are the arms of Tracy, Lucy, Throckmorton, and Empson, her ancestors. The husband, George Barker,¹ signs after his wife; and on the sinister side of the deed are the arms of his ancestors, Barker, Brett, Waterhouse, and Davenport. Attached to the lady's signature is a seal of the Tracy family, suspended by ribbons *or* and *gules*, Barker's by ribbons *or* and *sable*,—the tincture of their respective arms. At the foot of the deed, in the centre, the seals both of husband and wife are appended to a gold coin, an angel of Henry VIII, the ribbons passing through four holes in the coin, and so through the parchment. These ribbons are *azure* and *argent*, the principal tinctures of the archiepiscopal arms of Canterbury, which, impaling those of Whitgift, are emblazoned on the upper part of the deed. A peculiarity of this deed is that it seems to have been drawn up by a herald rather than by a lawyer, and some difficulties in after times arose as to its validity.

We were met by Mr. Leveson Gower, Dr. Carpenter, Mr. Kershaw, Librarian of Lambeth Library, and other members of the Surrey Archæological Society, and proceeded to visit the old church and the remains of the archiepiscopal Palace.

The Rev. J. M. Braithwaite, M.A., Vicar of Croydon, met us at his parish church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The old building, though restored in harmony with its original architecture, has suffered much from the effects of the late fire, which caused the destruction of nearly all the monuments which once were its pride. Though the foundation of a church on this site reaches back as far as Saxon times, the present structure owes its origin to Archbishop Courtney, to judge from the arms of that prelate being until lately affixed to the north entrance; and the arms of Archbishop Chichele being on the side of the west or principal entrance, it is supposed that he completed the building. He had been Bishop of St. David's before his translation to the see of Canterbury in A.D. 1414.

The three Archbishops whose monuments used to be seen here were

¹ He was Principal Registrar of the High Commission Court,—a piece of preferment which he probably owed to the Archbishop.

those of Archbishops Grindall, Whitgift, and Sheldon,—all names fraught with interest in the transitional times of the Anglican Church, from the reign of Elizabeth to Charles II. Endowed with diverse gifts, and actuated by different views of Church government, they all seem to have had the interest of their country at heart. The monument to the first of these prelates, Archbishop Grindall, who died in 1583, used to be remarkable for the recumbent figure of the Archbishop in his Doctor's robes; a small portion only of the episcopal vestments being exposed at the opening over the chest, in front. He wore a long black beard, forked, and curling. A brass plate now alone remains to record his name. He assisted at the translation of a portion of the Bible printed in 1568, known as the "Bishops' Bible."

Archbishop Whitgift, of whom mention has been made, was represented by a recumbent figure similar to that of Grindall, but in the robes of a churchman in the act of prayer. His object in life was to protect the English Church against the aggression both of the Romanists and of the Puritans, and his last words in death were, "Pro Ecclesia Dei,—pro Ecclesia Dei." He died in 1604, after having performed the last duties to Queen Elizabeth in her last hours, and having set the crown upon the heads of her successors, King James and Queen Anne.¹

Archbishop Sheldon's monument marks the decline of the arts, and the recumbent figure is open to criticism, as well as the idea of the skulls and bones carved in relief upon the sarcophagus below. He died at Lambeth on the 9th Nov. 1677. He had been present at the conference, in 1661, between the Episcopal and Presbyterian divines, held at the Savoy, in Bishop Sheldon's lodgings. In public works he expended a large sum of money. Among these may be mentioned the rebuilding of the hall (now the library) at Lambeth Palace, and the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford; which latter cost a small fortune, and he gave to it, besides, £2,000 for repairs.

The Palace, the old residence of the Archbishops, some of whom spent much time here, was then visited, and the danger of its destruction deplored. It is now used as a cloth-manufactory. An ancient arch spans the road which leads up to the entrance. We pass through this relie of the old portal, and are conducted into the hall, which has some good windows, blocked up in great measure by the modern works; and the date of this building is attributed to Archbishop Stafford. The chapel is more perfect than the hall, being now used as a school; and though there is nothing to fix the date of its building, it seems to have been repaired by the Archbishops Laud and Juxon.

The party here separated with a cordial wish expressed that what remains of the old Palace may be preserved.

¹ *Monuments and Antiquities of Croydon Church.* By John Corbet Anderson. 1856.

Another day was to be devoted to the British Museum, and on Monday the 27th we assembled in the room of Mr. Bullen, the Keeper of the Department of Printed Books. Mr. Bullen kindly took the trouble to bring to our notice many of the earliest and rarest specimens of typography, not seen on a previous occasion. The new printed Catalogue, a portion of which is now issued, will, when completed, realise what has long been a *desideratum* for those who seek to work the many unexplored lodes of metal in this rich mine, as well as to seek out the often-edited editions of well known authors.

Out of this labyrinth we emerged into the recesses of the Manuscript Department, where its Keeper, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, F.S.A., introduced us to some of the most valuable specimens, among which I may mention the early MS. of Homer in uncial characters of the fifth century, and the famous Bedford Missal, illuminated for the Duke of Bedford, and of priceless worth from its historical associations. Two excellent facsimiles of this Missal (*Horæ B. V.*) are given in the Plates 172 and 173 of the Palæographical Society, with descriptive letter-press, wherein it is said to be of rare beauty, and a present by Anne, daughter of John Duke of Burgundy, with consent of her husband, John Duke of Bedford, brother of King Henry V, to Henry VI on Christmas Eve 1430. It is probable that it had been a gift from the Duke to his Duchess on the occasion of their marriage, which took place in 1423. Among the autographs was seen a letter of Charles II, written when a boy to his mother, rebelling against being forced to take medicine, which he said did him no good, but on the contrary made him ill.

Besides these and many others, a number of Anglo-Saxon MSS. from the Stowe Collection were commented on by Mr. Thompson and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A. Since the Ashburnham MSS. were exhibited to us in 1883, that portion only of them known as the Stowe MSS., from their having originally proceeded from the Duke of Buckingham's library there, had been purchased by the nation apart from the other collections of Lord Ashburnham; and of these, the selection now exhibited comprises some of the most interesting charters, volumes, and historical and literary documents and autographs, according to the excellent catalogue of them published, with an introduction, by Mr. Thompson, and now exhibited in the King's Library.

Mr. Birch has created a special interest in the Anglo-Saxon MSS. by his publication of the text of so many in his *Cartularium Saxonicum*, of which the first volume has been already published, embracing charters from the earliest date to A.D. 839. He pointed out how sometimes Anglo-Saxon deeds were written from memory, to replace others which had been lost or destroyed; but these must not be taken as forgeries

on that account; as, for instance, No. 21 of the Stowe Collection, which is a record issued by King Edward at the request of the "ealdorman" Æthelfrith, who had lost the original deed, with his other muniments, by fire, which were again drawn up "in quantum eos memoriter recordari potuisset". Witnessed by King Eadward; Eathelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians; and his wife, Æthelflæd, "the Lady of the Mercians", and others, dated in A.D. 903.

I can only make mention of some few of the historical documents which happen to coincide with our recent investigations, and were not specially referred to on our last visit.

No. 15. A contemporary copy of a general confirmation by King Henry II to Christ Church, Canterbury, of all lands held by that house in the time of Edward the Confessor, William I, and Henry I. A.D. 1155. Another, of about the same period, in which important personages are referred to.

No. 18. Grant in frank almoigne, by Matilda Countess of Chester, widow of Ranulph de Gernon, fourth Earl, with assent of her son, Hugh (Cevellie), fifth Earl, to Repton Priory, of her land at Grandendene (Gransdean, co. Hants), for the souls of Henry II and his mother, the Empress Matilda; of Robert Earl of Gloucester, and the Countess Mabel, parents of the grantor; of Earl Ranulph, her husband, and of Earl Hugh, her son. *Circ.* A.D. 1172. *Latin.* With seal bearing a full-length figure of the Countess in a long dress with hanging sleeves. Among the MSS. in English (Table-case, 4c).

No. 4. "Confessio Amantis, or the Confession of the Lover", a poem in English by John Gower (A.D. 1320-1402), written in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Historical MSS. (Table-case 4D). Among these is a curious register of the Queen's Majesty's jewels, plate, and other stuff, delivered by commissioners appointed for the purpose to John Asteley, "Master and Threasourour of Her Highness Jewelles and Plate." 13 March, 16 Elizabeth (1574). Every leaf is signed at the foot by three of the commissioners.

In the Table-case 2A-B, No. 30, is a general release by William Bourdon, freeman of the Staple of Calais, and burgess of the town, to Thomas Thacker, merchant of the Staple of Calais, from all actions real and personal, etc. Dated in the Staple, 19 Feb. 1519. *Latin.* With signature and signet-ring bearing a female bust. The Staple seal is also attached, bearing an Agnus Dei between three woolsocks.

In Table-case 4D is a masque acted at the court of James I by the Queen and ladies of her suite. Early in the seventeenth century.

Among the historical letters, Screen A:—No. 9. Circular letter of the Privy Council to the Sheriffs and Justices of Norfolk, ordering "the better observing of the restraynte of killing, uttering, and eating

of fleshe in the tyme of Lent and other prohibited daies.....the rather in respecte of the late great mortalitye of shepe and other kinde of great cattell generallie almost throughout the Realme, and of the dearthe and scarcety also of other kinde of victuals at this tyme." Dated Greenwich, 10 Feb. 1586-7. Signed by "Jo. Cant." (John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury), W. (Cecil, Baron) Burghley, H. (Stanley, Earl of) Derby, W. (Brooke, Baron) Cobham, T. (Sackville, Baron) Buckhurst, (Sir) F. Knollys, (Sir) James Croft, W. Davison, and J. Wolley.

No. 13 is a curious letter from Sir Thomas Edmundes, Ambassador at Brussels, to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, dated in Brussels, 10 July 1605, concerning the procuring some "exact wourkes of hangings to be here made for the service of His Ma'tie."

Regretting the shortness of our hasty visit to this great national collection, we broke up our four days' excursion with many thanks to those who had planned it and successfully carried it through.

In the work of our winter session, the same spirit of inquiry into a period which occupied our attention during the preceding year has since prevailed in our researches. I refer to the period called Anglo-Saxon, anterior to the Conquest.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen has given us two interesting papers in which, side by side with the sculptured crosses which he has carefully and minutely delineated, are scheduled the various written and illuminated documents of Irish and English origin, the dates of which are ascertained. The ornamentation of these can thus be compared with the stone carving of the crosses, and the chronology of the latter, which was formerly vague and uncertain, can now be determined with accuracy. I point particularly to his illustration of the crosses at Ilkley in Yorkshire, the *Olicana* of the Romans.

An interesting supplement to these are the remains of a cross found in a church at Leeds, and described by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., with a series of rubbings and drawings. These are particularly noteworthy, as, independently of the designs, which have reference to Norse mythology, there is the name of Anlaf engraved in Runes upon the shaft of the cross; that is, Olave or its equivalent, as it is written in the chronicles. The question to be solved is this. To which of the heroes bearing this name is the inscription to be applied? Mr. Browne's paper not yet being in my hands, I will not anticipate what he has to say on the subject.

Upon this Anglo-Saxon period Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., gives a paper on territorial names, from a MS. hitherto unpublished; and we hail with pleasure his project of forming a society to edit and publish a complete text of the *Domesday Book*, of which in a learned paper he gave us a history and analysis.

Mr. E. Maunde Thompson has brought to our notice a new version of Ælfric's *Vocabulary*, showing how important this was to interpret the interlinear translation of the Latin into the vernacular tongue, for the benefit of those English monks who could not read Latin, and of those foreign monks who did not understand English; the Latin MSS. of the period having so often Anglo-Saxon glosses between the lines or in the margins.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., F.S.A. Scot., has not neglected to contribute, on her day, a paper on St. Milberga, Abbess of Wenlock, who before she became a Saint was a living being who played her part on the world's stage towards the end of the seventh century. A beautiful fifteenth century representation of this lady was shown by Mr. Watling in a tracing; and I may take this opportunity of referring to the many of this gentleman's drawings of windows and other antiquities exhibited at the evening meetings during the session, particularly a fine series illustrative of St. Edmund, which have been greatly admired both for their accuracy and good colouring.

An old Associate and Vice-President, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., has favoured us with papers on British *oppida* in the parish of Meon Stoke, in Hampshire, as well as in Hayling Island; and an interesting essay on Roman embanking, which is a subject well worthy of further study as well as practical imitation, and is a witness to the engineering skill of the Romans.

Mr. J. R. Allen brought to our notice a newly found Roman memorial stone from Ilkley, with a figure seated under a canopy, and below it an inscription.

Mr. C. H. Compton has taken advantage of the discovery of the remains of a Roman bridge over the river Trent, near Newark, to trace and endeavour to fix the stations in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, between Leicester and Lincoln, and has made the modern distances of certain places to correspond fairly with the ancient "Roadster".

From the crosses of Mr. Romilly Allen to those of Mr. Lynam, carved upon gravestones discovered at Hulton Abbey, near Stoke-upon-Trent, the transition is interesting, and a similarity appreciable between the two styles.

The twenty drawings of mounds and cromlechs in Pembrokeshire, by Mr. Worthington Smith, were an appropriate illustration of a subject often discussed since our visit to that county.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, has done much to trace and describe the extent of the ancient British Church in an elaborate paper on the subject; and the frescoes not long ago discovered at Patcham Church, near Brighton, which were described by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, bear witness to another interesting phase of church history. Amongst its more recent illus-

trations is the history of the foreign refugee settlements in East Kent, treated of by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., Librarian of Lambeth Library.

Magical signs and incantations, traced through mediæval times to a later period, were subjects of no common interest as handled by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, F.S.A.

The paper on the seals of Henry VI as King of France, by Mr. A. B. Wyon, has shown us what we lose by the death of its talented author, which occurred soon after his reading of the paper.

Want of space will not allow me to make further mention of subjects brought forward, and papers read, which must be left unnoticed. Lady Anne Perey's portrait, however, in stained glass at Long Melford, described, with the numerous quarterings on her robe, by Mr. Birch, must be referred to in connection with the heraldic branch of subjects.

The exhibitions at the evening meetings will be found detailed among the official report of them. Some of the most interesting among the many shown by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew were the Roman enamelled bronze figure of a cock, and two glass vases of ancient Persian manufacture. The curious antiquities from Egypt were the result of the last journey to that country by Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., who explained them.

A Babylonian inscribed cylindrical seal was among the miscellaneous specimens exhibited by Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A.

The Rev. Sir Talbot R. B. Baker, F.S.A., exhibited a large hair-comb in ivory, with double set of teeth, elaborately carved between the rows with figures of the fifteenth century, and it was considered of German origin. From its size it could hardly have been intended for use, but was probably a present on a marriage or other occasion. It is recorded that Pope Boniface made a present to Queen Ethelberga, in Britain, of an ivory comb,¹ gilt on its surface, and a silver mirror; and to her husband, Edwin, King of Northumbria, of a tunic with fringes of gold. The cutting and dressing the hair was then considered a sign of entering upon Roman civilisation and Christianity, the outer barbarians wearing the hair long. The practice of sending such an emblematic present would be continued.

Here I must terminate this abstract, looking forward with pleasure to the forthcoming Congress, the arrangements for which are still in the hands of our great promoter of these annual gatherings, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

¹ *Cartularium Saronicum*, vol. i. p. 28.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH MAY 1885.

REV. W. S. SIMPSON, V.P., D.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Robert Bagster, Esq., Paternoster Row, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the respective presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "Decretum Pauli Æmilii, Pars Prima: Hispaniæ Anteromanæ Syntagma." By Dr. Berlanga. Part I, Malaga, 1881; Part II, 1884.

„ „ for "Older England." Second Series. By J. F. Hodgetts, Esq. 8vo. 1885.

To Platon Lukamevich, the Author, for a collection of works in Russian, consisting of "Roots of the Greek Language", Parts 1, 2; Kieff, 1869, 1872. "Roots of the Hebrew Language"; Kieff, 1883. "Explanation of Assyrian Names." "Roots of the Latin Language."

To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", No. 165. 1885.

„ „ for "Archæologia Æliana", Part 29. 1885.

„ „ for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. vi, 4th Series. July 1884. No. 59.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fifth Series, No. V. Jan. 1885.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects", Nos. 12, 13. April, May, 1885.

„ „ for "Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte." Jahrg. VII. Heft i-iv. 1884.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced that a Congress would be held in the autumn at Brighton, and that Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., had been entrusted with the arrangements in detail, which would be laid before the Association at an early date.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large and varied collection of antiquities acquired during recent travel in the East. Among the objects were—a stone gouge from Tel-el-Yahoudeh, Egypt; a prehistoric stone knife from Gizeh; a stone hammer-head from Suez, near Clysma; a stone weight or muller from the alleged site of Succoth; a wooden jackal of Anubis; a wooden hawk, gilded; a *shabti*, or sepulchral figure of Osiris, of terra-cotta; another of wood; a bronze thurible from Luxor; fifteen fine stone arrow-heads from Florence; two inscribed leaden *glandes*, or Roman sling-bullets; a bronze axe with ear-pieces; a large key with hinged barrel; the bronze eyebrow of a

mummy; a carved Coptic bird; a gilded bronze Osiris; a *situlus* or bucket; a rectangular bronze mummy-case for a snake; another for an alligator; an early torque of bronze; an alabaster egg; and an elegant bowl of banded arragonite, found at Luxor.

Several members made remarks on the interesting nature of the foregoing relics.

Mr. Brock exhibited three bronze deities, Mars, Mercury, and Venus, of the classical style, from excavations in the Campagna.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited, on behalf of Mr. R. White of Worksop, an extremely elegant Roman sepulchral sarcophagus, ornamented with carved birds feeding their young in nests, festoons of flowers, and architectural details. On the front side, at the top, in a rectangular panel, is the following inscription:

L. COCCEIVS . M . F .
DEXIVS
CLYMENTVS
VIXIT . ANNUM . I
MENSES . VII .
DIEM . VNVM

Below this, on a flat surface apparently cut down at a period subsequent to the making of the carving, is the following inscription:

C. SERGIVS . C . FIL . ALCIMVS
VIXIT . ANN . III . MENSIBVS . III .
DIEBVS . TRIBVS
FRUMENTVM . ACCEPIT
DIE . X . OSTIO . XXXIX
SERGIVS . ALCIMVS . F . (or E) SVO

Mr. Birch explained the points of interest in the inscriptions, and described the peculiarities of the art shown in the carving, and read the following note by Mr. A. S. Murray of the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum, in reference to the latter inscription:

"Henzer (*Inscript. Lat.*, No. 6,663) quotes the inscription, apparently, of which you left an impression with me, except that he reads DIEBVS III instead of DIEBVS TRIBVS, as on the stone. The last line he reads, SERGIVS ALCIMVS . F . SVO. '*Frumentum accepit*' is the phrase for a person who has obtained a *tessera frumentaria*, which entitles him to a supply of grain from the public stores. On such a *tessera* the day and the number of the entrance of the Porticus Minucia, where and when the supply would be doled out, are inscribed (DIE . X . OSTIO . XXXIX). Such *tesserae* are frequently purchased for freedmen by their *patroni*."

Dr. T. J. Woodhouse suggests that the following passage in Plautus (*Aulul.*, i, 2, 28, et seq.) may have reference to the custom of giving out a similar dole:

“Nimis hercle invitus abeo ; sed, quid agam scio.
 Nam noster nostræ qui est magister curiæ
 Dividere argenti dixit nummos in viros.
 Id si relinquo, ac non peto, omnes illico
 Me suspicentur (credo) habere aurum domi.”

Mr. White has since communicated the following extract from a newspaper of about sixty years' date, relating to the history of the cippus : “It was obtained for the present learned, scientific, and philanthropic possessor, at no inconsiderable difficulty and expense, by a continental collector for that and other gentlemen connected with antiquarian research and similar pursuits. The date of this elaborate article of *virtu* is pretty clearly ascertained to be about that peculiar and distinguished era, the ninth Olympiad ; and was brought from Villa Franca, about six leagues from Rome (the cemetery of many an ennobled senator) by that Colossus of princely pride, the fourteenth Louis of France, as a present to one among his most noted personal favourites (then considered the Mæcenas of his age and nation), the Marquis de Choiseul, great-uncle to that Marquis whose widow is the present amiable Princess Polignac, and the sister of that well known and noble patriot of our county, Baron Raneliffe.”

Mr. Birch exhibited, by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the original document known as “King John's Will”, from the Cathedral Library. Mr. Birch's remarks will take the form of a short paper in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Chairman then read a paper entitled “On a Prayer to Master John Schorn”, which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. T. Blashill exhibited a large collection of monastic plans, and details of the architectural remains of Abbey Dore, Herefordshire, and read a paper on the Abbey, which will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. Brock read, in the unavoidable absence of the author, a paper on “Cornish Crosses”, by Dr. Alfred Fryer, which was accompanied with a series of small models, in stone, of the same, presented to the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD JUNE 1885.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

J. Hunter Donaldson, Esq., 11 Southwick Crescent, Hyde Park,
 and Haroldslea, Horley

Robert Gill, Esq., Keele, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire

M. Charles Rössler, Havre, France

J. G. E. Sibbald, Esq., Admiralty, Whitehall

Humphrey Wood, Esq., Chatham

J. N. da Fonseca, Goa, West Indies (Honorary Correspondent).

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology", J. W. Powell, Director, Smithsonian Institute, vol. ii, 1883. Folio.

To the Editor, for "A True Report of Certain Wonderful Overflowings of Waters in Somersetshire, Norfolk, etc., 1607." 4to.

To the Author, for "Historical Sketch of Goa." By S. J. N. da Fonseca, President of the Literary Society of Goa.

Mr. Brock reported that the repairs about to be executed at Waltham Cross had been approved of by the Council.

The Rev. Canon Routledge, M.A., of St. Martin's, Canterbury, forwarded the following notice of recent discoveries in the church : "During the past few weeks an interesting discovery of a Norman hagioscope, or squint, has been made in St. Martin's Church. It was found in the outside wall, at the north-west corner of the nave, partly concealed behind the tower. The entrance to it, evidently once closed by a door, is sunk some 3 or 4 inches in the outer wall, is of an oblong character, measuring 12 inches by 8, and composed of worked Kentish rag and chalk, with a lintel of oak now greatly decayed by age. One of the hinges of the door is still remaining. The squint is partially splayed on both sides, but rather more so on the right side than on the left. It extends for 18 inches into the interior of the church, and apparently commanded a view of the high altar. The opening on the inside, about 15 inches across, is now concealed by the woodwork of a pew. Its masonry is of a rugged character, and was evidently disturbed when the interior of the church was covered by the thick coat of plaster which now disfigures it. The whole squint was lined originally with Norman plaster. Among the fillings-up were found three very curious circular stones, fluted, each with an ornamental volute at the end. They are composed of Caen oolite stone. It is premature at present to attempt to define their use, but they are not altogether unlike the scroll that is sometimes found at the top of a Roman altar. A recent examination of the *west* wall of St. Martin's nave has clearly established its Roman origin, as well as that of the rest of the church, the wall being built of stone and rubble, with regular bonding courses of Roman brick at intervals of 9 inches, and occasional traces of Roman plastering."

Mr. Birch read the following communication from Mr. H. J. Reid of Donnington, Newbury, to the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A., F.S.A., who had forwarded it to the Association.

"Upon the brow of a hill here, about 3 feet below the surface, a

large quantity of fragments of Roman, and also, perhaps, Romano-British pottery, has been discovered, but nothing perfect. Some fragments are certainly domestic; others may be sepulchral, but of this I am doubtful. The handle of a very large amphora has been found. Cremation has been suggested in consequence of the discovery of two circles of flint stones, also within 4 feet of the surface, and with nearly 6 inches of wood-ash within them. These circles are neither of them more than 4 feet diameter.

"Our difficulty is to explain the use of these fires. No trace of bones, pottery, or indeed anything, is found within 20 feet of these fires, which were about 8 feet apart; and I cannot believe that bodies could be cremated within so small a compass when in an upright position, which I suppose absolutely impossible. I have never heard of such a practice. The theory suggests cremation and burial in the urns, fragments of which we have found. My conviction is they were simply watch-fires or cooking-fires; and the fragments, pieces of broken crockery thrown away by the users of the fire at various times. The hill faces to the south-west, and is high, and commands an extensive view of country. The pottery was found partly in clay, and partly in sand, of which there is a considerable depth. In one case the fire has had little effect upon the flints; in the second they were almost vitrified."

It was the opinion of the meeting that the fires mentioned by Mr. Reid had been for beacon, and not for crematory purposes.

Mr. Birch exhibited, on behalf of Mr. J. B. Greenshields of Lesmahagow, an interesting fibula of silver with plain, flat circle and short pin, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter; the sides of the circle inscribed in capital letters of the fourteenth century, badly designed, and in some cases mistakenly used:

φ. + IHESVS NAZARENV[*s*]
R. + AVE MARIA ORA ETC.

The Rev. Dr. Hooppell, M.A., gave an account of discovery of interments of early date, with Roman pottery, in "The Danes' Camp", Northampton, now being removed; and also exhibited an iron sword in a bronze sheath, found near Darlington.

Mr. J. F. Swayne, F.S.A., of Wilton, sent for exhibition several ancient deeds, and Mr. Birch read Mr. Swayne's notes on them. The deeds are:—1. Charter of agreement between John filius Swayn, of Westbrettun, and Sir Ralph de Horbury, A.D. 1257, *with seal*. 2. Bond, under the seal of Salisbury, "*pro recognitione debitorum*", by William Child of New Sarum, to William Warwick, citizen of the same. 7 Henry VI. *With the rare seal of the statute*. 3. Release, by Thomas Calston of co. Wilts, to Thomas Felawe of Chesynghbury, and John Hildesle, of lands in Compton-juxta-Enceford in co. Wilts. 16 Richard II. *Seal of arms of Calston*.

Mr. Brock exhibited a Roman urn of bronze ware, and fragments of pottery, recently found near Colchester.

Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., exhibited a collection of specimens of Catalan caligraphy, purporting to be professions of nuns of the Order of St. Dominic in the Monastery of Montesion, Barcelona, and communicated the following account of the documents :

NOTICE OF SOME PROFESSIONS OF SPANISH NUNS.

BY W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ., F.S.A.

The following is the description of the documents which I have the honour of exhibiting to the Association this evening. They are in manuscript. The arms, repeated on several of the documents with and without the bordure, are, gyrony of eight ; over all a cross patonce, countercharged *argent* and *sable*.

1. Floriated, coloured border between red marginal lines ; inside border, at top centre, medallion with saint with cross ; dexter side, top, arms in circle, counterchanged cross with bordure *argent* and *sable* ; sinister side, arms indistinct, and much damaged, mantling and helm with gold front ; old face letters, capital letters in red. Three medallions on lowest side of border ; centre one, lamb and star ; two others, green parrots with branch of oranges (?).

“Yo sor Maria Gracia Llenes y de Malla. Fas Professio, y promet Obediencia a Dev y ala Gloriosa Verge Maria, y al Benauenturat Pare nostre Sanct Domingo. Y a vos Reuerent Pare Fra Ioseph Bramo Mestre en sancta Theologia, y Vicari General del Principat de Cathalunya, tenint lo lloch del Reuerendissim Pare Frai Thomas Turco Mestre General del Orde de Predicadors, Y a vos Reuerent Mare Sor Maria Alentorn Priora de dit Monestir. Que sere obedient a vos y a vostres Successores, segons la Regla d' Sanct Agosti, y Constitucions dels Frares y Sors de dit Orde. Fins a la mort.

“Vni als. 16. del Mes de Juny, del any de la Natiuitat de Nostre Senyor Iesv Christ. M.DCXXXVII.”

2. All in black ; at top, B. V. M. and Child, with male and female saints ; male receiving rosary, female being crowned by Child ; all in clouds. Dexter top corner in ornamental medallion frame, female saint with pen, dove at ear ; sinister, male saint and motto, “Timeto Deum & Date illi honorem” ; dexter side, ditto medallion, male saint with open book, “Ad Dei Maiorem Gloriam” ; sinister side, ditto medallion, male saint holding stick with flowers at end, and Child ; at bottom, three medallions ; dexter side, St. Laurence ; centre, S. Michael (?) ; sinister, male saint at table, pen, and doves at ear ; over them, in centre, arms, cross counterchanged, no bordure. Inscription on curtain, border between medallions, Cupids and flowers in outline :

“Io Sor Maria Theresa Ilañes, y Borrell, Fàs Professid, y prometo

Obediència à Deu Nostre Sr. y à la humil Verge Maria y al Gloriòs Pare Nostre St. Domingo y à Vos Molt Rñt Pe. Fra Ioan Thomàs Roig Presentat en Sagrada Theologia, Prior del Convent de S^{ta} Catharina Verge y Martir de la pñt Ciutat de Barña y Vicari del pñt Rl. Monastir de Montesion, tenint lo lloch del Rm. Pe. Fra Antonino Bremond Mestre Genl. del Ordre de Predicadors, y à Vos Molt Rñt Mare Sor Fran^{ca} de Vilana Perlas Priora del pñt Rl. Monastir: Que serè Obedientia à Vos à vostres successors, segons la Regla del Glorios Pe. St. Agusti, y Constitucions de Frares, y Sors del Ordre de Predicadors, fins à la Mort.”

3. *Coloured border.* B. V. M. and Child in medallion, centre top. Dexter, saint with cross; sinister, female saint with arrow; at foot, a shield with counterchanged arms under royal crown. Inscription on curtain; red ornamental capital letters; inscription in old face type; border of coloured flowers straggling round the edges.

“Yo Sor Maria Rosa Soñol y Escorsell, fàs Professiò y prometo Obediència à Deu N’re Sr. y à la humil Verge Maria, y al gloriòs Pare nostre St. Domingo, y à V. M. R. P. M. Frà Ioan Lleonart Prior del Convent de Sta. Catherina Verge y Mar^r de la pñt Ciutat de Bar^{na} y Vicari Genl. de la Provin’a de Aragò del Ordre de Predicadors, tenint lo lloch del Rm. P. F. Antonino Bremond Mestre Genl. de dit Sagràt Ordre. Y à vos M. Rt. Mte. Sor Fran^{ca} de Vilana Perlas Priora de dit Monastir de Montesion; que serè obedient à vos, y à vostres Successores, segons la Regla del gloriòs Pare St. Augusti y Constitucions de Frares, y Sorors del Ordre de Predic^{tes} fins à la Mort”.

4. Ornamental coloured border of flowers and birds between red lines; medallions at top; centre, B. V. M. and Child between roses; at sides of border, dexter, a saint with scarlet hat and jacket, holding church, and pen, lion, or some animal; sinister side, saint in black cloak holding church and pen; at bottom, centre, saint with cross, between phœnix and pelican; old face type ornamented in places with gold.

“Yo Sor Geronima Pvig, y Carrera”, in gold caps; peacock and other bird with flowers.

“Fas Professio, y prometo obediencia, a Deu nostre Señor, y, a la humil Verge Maria, y al glorios Pare nostre St. Domingo, y a Vos Mt. Rl. Pe. Fr. Ioseph Albalat, Mc. en Sagrada Theologia, Provincial de la Provincia de Aragò, tenint lo lloch del Revm. Pe. Fr. Antonino Cloche, Mestre General del Orde de Predicadors, y a vos Molt Reverent Mare, Sor Marina Miralles y Ferrer, Priora del present Real Monestir de Montession, que serè obedient, a Vos, y a Vostres successors, segons la Regla del Pare Sant Augusti, y Constitucions dels Frares, y Sors de dit Orde, fins, à la Mort.”

Manuscript note, “dia i da 9bra 1688.” Scrolls, tulips, and skull and crossbones; in scrolls, monogram, A.M., and S.P.

5. Ornamental square border, flowers, and birds; B. V. M. and Child in round medallion at top, centre; dexter, top, St. Michael fighting the Devil; sinister, top, male saint with white lily, dog holding candle in mouth; medallion, dexter, at side, male saint bearing child; sinister, male saint with stick, sun bearing "Charitas". At bottom, centre, male saint with crucifix, and robe tied to a stick; dexter corner, male saint with church and lion; sinister ditto, male saint with pen and church; at bottom of border, phoenix and pelican. Old face type, gilt capital letters, to "quel" large gilt caps, with scrolls and peacock and pheasant (?), as before.

"Yo Sor Reymv'da sans y de miquel Fas Professio y prometo Obediència à Den Ne. Sr. y a la humil Verge Maria y al Glorios Pe. nostre Sant Domingo y a Vos Molt Reuerent Pare Fra Ramon Costa Me. en Sagrada Theologia Prior del Conuent de Santa Catherina martir y Vicari del present Monestir de Montesion teninit lo lloch del Mt. Rt. Pe. Fa. Ioseph Albalat Me. en Sagrada Theologia Prouincial de la Prouincia de Arago tenint lo lloch del Rm. Pe. Fa. Antonino Cloche Me. General del Orde de Predicadors Y a Vos Mt. Rt. Me. Sor Cicilia Riber de Heredia Priora del pñt Real Monestir de Montesion que serè obedient, à Vos y à vostres Successores segons la Regla del glorios Pe. St. Agusti y constitucions dels Frares y Sors de dit Orde fins a la MORT."

Tulip and butterfly, skull and cross-bones, tulip and caterpillar.

6. Coloured border; large medallion with figure of B. V. M. with Child, and saints, at top; at foot, saint bearing church and pen, dove at ear; tulips and roses round edge; under B. V. M. winged heart.

"Yo Sor Maria Emanuela Sanz. y Miquel Fas Professio, y prometo Obediència a Den Nostre Señor. y a la humil Verge Maria, y al Glorios Pare Nostre Sant Domingo, a vos Molt Reuerent Pare Mestre Fra Domingo Alda Prouincial de la Prouincia de Arago, tenint lo lloch del Rm. Pe. Fr. Antonino Cloche Me. General del Orde de Predicadors y a vos Mt. Rta. Me. Sor Geronima Miguel Priora del present Ral. Monestir de Montession que sere Obedient a Vos y a vostres Successors Segons la Regla del Pare Sao. Agusti y Constitucions dels Frares y Sors del dit Orde de Predicadors fins a la Mort."

7. Coloured ornaments; medallion in wreath; in centre, Jewish priest, dove over his head, male and female holding hands before him; (?) Joseph and B. Virgin; motto under this, "Desponsau te mihi in fide"; then naked arm with pierced hand holding hand with arm clothed, scrolled, mantling-like, coloured ornaments; small medallions, dexter, saint with cross, book, and flower; and sinister, female with pen and book; at foot, arms in circle with *bordure or* and *sable*. Inscription on square panel with broad, gilt edge, engrossed:

"Yo Sor Maria Rubi y de Boxados fas professio y prometo Obedi-

encia á D. N. St. y a la humil Verge Ma. y al Glorios P. N. S. Domingo y a vos Molt Rt. P. Ma. F. Diego Carli Prior del Cont. de Sa. Catharina Ve. y Mir. y Vicari del Conuēt tenint lo lloch del R. P. F. Antoino Cloche M. G. del Orde de Predicadors y a vos Mt. R. M. Sor Geronima Miquel Priora del presēt Real Monestir de Montession que fere Obedient a vos y a Vostres successors segōs la Regla del P. S. Augusti y Cōstituciōs dels Frs. y S. del dit Orde de Predicadors fins a la Mort."

Endorsed, "Sor Maria Rubi y de Boxados profesá a 3 de 9bre 1693."

8. Purple ground; gilt frame with scrolls of green round it; at top, arms with cross counterchanged, etc., and crown as before. Inscription, in old face type, on white curtain:

"Jo Sor Theresa Dominga Fontcuberta, y Soler fas profesió, y prometo Obediencia á Deu Ne. Señor, y á la humil Verge Maria, y al Gloriós Ne. Pe. St. Domingo, y á vos M. R. P. Fr. Jaume Soler Mestre en Sagrada Theologia, Prior del Convent de Sta. Catha. Ve. y Mr. de la present Cíutat de Barcelona, y Vicari del present Real Monastir de Montesion: tenint lo lloch del Revm. P. Me. Fr. Joseph Díaz Vicari General del Orde de Predicadors en los Dominis de España; y á vos M. R. Mare Sor Maria Theresa Miláni, y Sanchez Priora del dit Monastir; que seré obedient a Vos, y a vostras Successóras, segons la Regla del glorios P. St. Agustí, y Constitucions de Frares, y Sors del Orde de Predicadors. Fins á la mort. 1805."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a silver siege-piece of Strasburg, of the value of eighty kreutzers, struck A.D. 1592, during the war of John George, Administrator of Brandenburg, with Charles Cardinal of Lorraine; resembling our own siege-pieces, as struck from plate by a die, the heraldry appears on one side only. Within a circle are three shields of arms, quarterly,—the arms of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Alsace; the arms of the Chapter of Strasburg, the Virgin Mother with the Holy Child; the arms of Strasburg. The piece exhibited accords in all respects with the British Museum specimen:—also a bronze dollar of Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, A.D. 1648, dug from Fenchurch Street in May; a terra-cotta of Cupid, found lately, and brought from Cumæ; an enamelled vase of Chinese glass, of beauty and rarity, standing on a ribbed foot of imitation glass; and a Tassie vase of milk-white glass, with opalescent handles, inscribed with classic groups by Flaxman; these objects are treated of in a separate paper, which will, we hope, be printed hereafter:—also a Venetian jug of pure white glass, enamelled with birds, foliage, and flowers of the sixteenth century, beautiful in execution and rare in shape, resembling the thoroughly Flemish earthenware of which much of fine quality was imported

under Henry VIII; a portion of finely iridescent glass from London; a Bohemian cup of the last century, made in rivalry to the exquisite and rare *vitro d'oro* of Venice.

Mr. Theo. Pinches, of the Department of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, exhibited a large collection of casts of Babylonian cylinders, and read a paper on them, which will, it is hoped, be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. H. Ward of America, and several members took part.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen read a paper on "Sculptured Stones at Rockland and Colsterworth, co. Lincoln, and at Bexhill, Sussex", which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Mr. J. T. Irvine on "Barnack Church", illustrated by a very comprehensive series of views accurately drawn to scale. This paper also, we hope, to print in the *Journal* at an early opportunity.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Prehistoric Stone Monuments of Cornwall, by the Rev. W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A., has just been published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, price 15s. It may be procured from Messrs. Simpson, Renshaw, and Bevington, 12 Paternoster Square, London. Mr. Lukis's descriptions and illustrations of some of these Cornish monuments may be profitably read by the antiquary, side by side with the papers on the same subject by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., recently published in our *Journal*.

Discovery at Folkestone.—The Rev. M. Woodward, M.A., Vicar of Folkestone, writing recently to the *Times*, states:—"In removing the surface stonework in the north wall of the sanctuary of the parish church of Folkestone, the workmen have come upon a reliquary of great antiquity and interest. It contains the remains of St. Eanswide, or Eanswith, the patron saint of Folkestone, to whom the parish church is dedicated. She was the granddaughter of Ethelbert, the first King of Kent, and daughter of Eadbald (A.D. 640), and (to quote Lambard) 'she created a religious priory of women, not in the place where St. Peter's Church at Folkestone now standeth, but southe from thence, where the sea many yeares agoe hath swallowed and eaten it.' The historian further adds:—'And yet, least you shoulde thinke the parishe church to be voyde of reverence, I must let you know before the sea had devoured all, S. Eanswide's reliques were translated thither.' The reliquary is of lead, 15 inches in length by 12 inches in height, and the same in width, and curiously marked with

a zigzag pattern. Immediately above the place in the wall where it was inserted is a niche, where there has been a shrine. The reliquary contains the skull and many of the bones in a fair state of preservation. It has been opened and roughly treated, probably at the time of the Reformation, and then reinserted and built into the wall, and so covered as to have left no external mark of its position. On the ancient seal of the Mayor of Folkestone St. Eanswith is represented in the attire of an abbess, crowned, pastoral staff, with a fish hanging by her side. Several miracles are ascribed to her in ancient records, and it has been the custom for some years past to commemorate her on the 12th of September with special dedication festival services in the parish church."

The Domesday Book Society.—The year 1886 will bring with it the eight-hundredth anniversary of the completion of the *Domesday Book*, a fact which may be regarded as a favourable opportunity of bringing that literary relic, the fountain head of almost all our national topographical and biographical researches, very prominently before the world of antiquaries. We would draw attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the bibliography of *Domesday*, and to the not infrequent ignorance shown as to the true character of the contents of the MS., looked at not only from a popular, but from a scientific standpoint, notwithstanding that the paramount value of the book is universally acknowledged. The necessity of a handy-volume series of *Domesday* is every day more apparent, and such a uniform edition as a small body of editors could produce conveniently, and, comparatively speaking, quickly, could be issued in an octavo form, county by county, or in natural groups of counties (for the *Domesday* seems to have been prepared according to some system of grouping four or five counties in a batch), at regular intervals. This would be best accomplished by the formation of a Society, conducted much in the same way as, for example, the Hakluyt Society, which issues two octavo volumes yearly to its members for a guinea subscription. The MSS. which bear directly on the *Domesday Book* and require to be taken into account, either by collation or as parallel texts, are not very numerous. They may be grouped into three classes—1. Original returns; 2. *Domesday Book* proper; 3. Abridged *Domesday*.

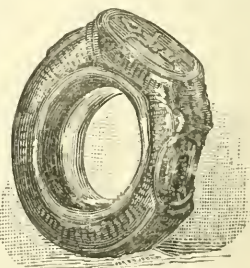
1. Of the first class we have (i) the "Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis", or original return made by the *juratores* of the county of Cambridge in obedience to the royal mandate. We have also (ii) the "Exon" *Domesday*, with the concomitant "Gheld Inquest" of 1084, so called because of its belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, containing the original returns for the group of five south-western counties—Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.

2. The Exchequer *Domesday* Book proper, printed by the Record Commission in 1783, now rare and of high price.

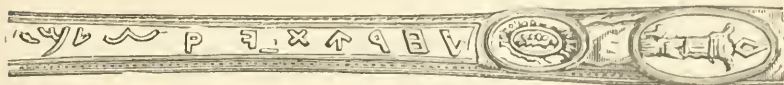
3. Of abridged and imperfect *Domesday* there are (i) a copy formerly preserved in the office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer; (ii) another formerly in the Chapter House (these, although abridgments, deserve collation with the Exchequer *Domesday*; (iii) a MS. in the Arundel Library; (iv) an early copy of the Kent Survey, in form of a roll, among the Cottonian MSS., and others.

There are also several invaluable treatises, such as Ellis's *Introduction to the Study of Domesday*, and the late Rev. R. W. Eyton's *Domesday Studies*, the part publication of which, if no copyrights were infringed, might well be included in the scope of the proposed Society. Those desirous of joining the Society should notify the same as early as convenient to Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, who will also be glad to know the names of the persons so joining who will undertake, if called upon, to edit any of the Society's volumes, in accordance with rules to be drawn up hereafter for their guidance.

The Hull Quarterly and East Riding Portfolio. Edited by W. G. B. PAGE, Esq., Sub-Librarian of the Subscription Library, Hull, and compiler of *The Bibliography of Hull*. Vol. I. (Hull: A. Brown and Sons, 1884.)—This work consists of a large number of separate articles more or less antiquarian and archæological, interspersed with essays and biographies of local interest, contributed by various authors. Among others, the following are worthy of notice in our *Journal*:—"The Plate and Insignia of the Hull Corporation", by Alderman King, from which it appears that in 1535 the town's plate was ordered to be sold for expenses made to Parliament. "The Influence of the Northmen on our Language", by J. Nicholson, with a copious vocabulary, will prove useful to philological antiquaries. "The Johnson MSS. Correspondence", by the Editor, treating of controversial matters. "Cottingham Castle and its Lords", by C. S. Wake, Esq., is an excellent paper, and is well illustrated with a plan of the site. Out of one of the Castle moats, upwards of thirty years ago, a curious, antique ring, apparently made of wood, was dug up, of which we here give illustrations. It has been conjectured that the inscription is in old Hebrew or Phœnician characters. From the accompanying illustration, the characters appear with more likelihood to belong to the ancient Cypriote syllabary; if, indeed, they are not fanciful and cabalistic. The ring is now in the possession of Miss M. J. Sollitt of Withernsea. It is stated that in 1541 King Henry VIII sent a message to Lord Wake, of Cottingham Castle,

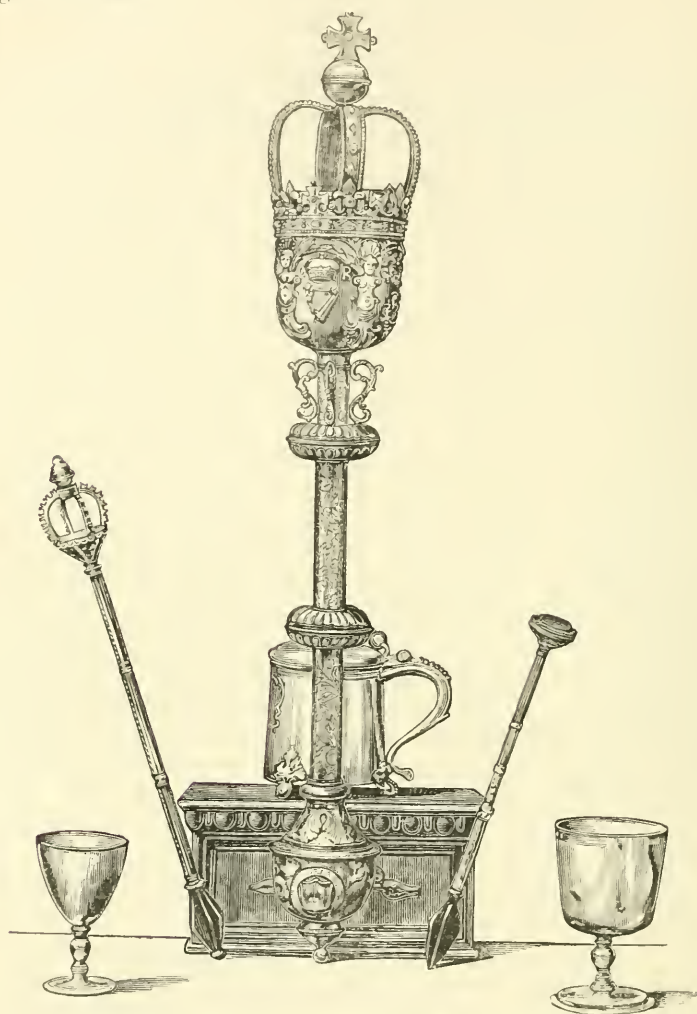


informing him that he intended to dine with him; and the possessor, desirous (for good reasons) of avoiding that honour, set fire to the Castle, and it was burnt to the ground. "The Battle of Brunanburgh" is graphically described by Mr. T. C. Eastwood, and some



interesting conjectures as to the exact site recorded. Mr. H. P. Roberts contributes a good essay on Henry Vane, Hull's greatest Member of Parliament, one of the prominent figures of the disturbed period of the civil wars in the seventeenth century. "The Roman Altar to the Parææ, discovered at Lincoln", is treated in an exhaustive manner and deeply archæological spirit by the Rev. E. Venables, Precentor of Lincoln. This valuable relic of Roman Lincoln, we are glad to notice, has been removed into the adjacent church of St. Swithun, in the foundations of which it was found; and has been carefully erected at the west end of the north aisle, and thus, to the delight of all true archæologists, its preservation has been ensured. The inscription explains itself. It is as follows: PARCIS . DEA | BVS . ET . NV | MINIBVS . AVG . | C . ANTISTIVS | FRONTINVS | CVRATOR . TER | AR . D . S . D. "The Hedon Corporation Plate" is treated of by Mr. G. R. Park; and we have been enabled, by Mr. Page's kindness, to reproduce the illustration which accompanies this notice. The two smaller wood maces are very ancient. The smallest, 18 inches long, points to the reign of Edward IV, and its top has a shield of the royal arms of England between the letters E. R. The other, 25 inches long, has on the top a shield of the royal arms of England between the letters H. R., for Henry VI. The large mace is dated by black-letter B, for 1659; the covered tankard, 1639; the egg-shaped goblet, 1646; and the larger goblet, 1658. Mr. Park's detailed account of this collection of ancient plate should be read by all interested in mediæval silversmith's work. Another valuable contribution to local biography is that of G. J. Gray, Esq., on John Alcock (*ob.* 1500), Bishop of Rochester, 1472-6, and subsequently of Worcester, with a plate of the rare portrait from the painting in Jesus College, Cambridge. Mr. T. T. Wildridge contributes "Notes on a Few Ancient Tombs in the District"; Mr. C. S. Wake, another of "The Lords of Cottingham"; Mr. C. Mason, "The Song of Roland"; Mr. H. G. Montgomery a paper on "Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire", of which, by the way, an unpublished chronicle exists in the British Museum; and Mr. J. Cook "An Outline of the History of the Charterhouse, Hull." The volume ends with a note of the discovery, in March 1884, of a recumbent effigy of a knight in chain-mail, under the eastern portion of the south wall of Somerby Church, near

Brigg. It has been thought to be a monument of one of the family of Cumberworth, and its date may be assigned to the early part of the reign of Edward I.



Heaton Corporation Plate.

Mr. Page has performed the duty of Editor in a most excellent manner, and should be heartily congratulated for having been so fortunate as to gather together so many well written treatises on matters illustrative of Hull and its vicinity in the mediæval times. We look forward to the completion of the second volume (which concludes the work) with much interest, and can cordially recommend the book to the notice of members of the Association.

De Nova Villa ; or the House of Nevill in Sunshine and Shade. By the Rev. H. J. SWALLOW, F.R.S.L. (Newcastle-on-Tyne : Andrew Reid, 1885.)—The history of our noble families has always been a favourite subject both with authors and with readers. Our national history is inseparably bound up with them : in fact, without the deeds of our old knights, the successful achievements of statesmen, and the active influences exerted by pre-eminent minds, no nation's history could rise beyond a mere record of commonplace annals.

The Neville, or, as Mr. Swallow calls it, Nevill, family is one of the most illustrious. Drummond gives it a foremost place in the ranks

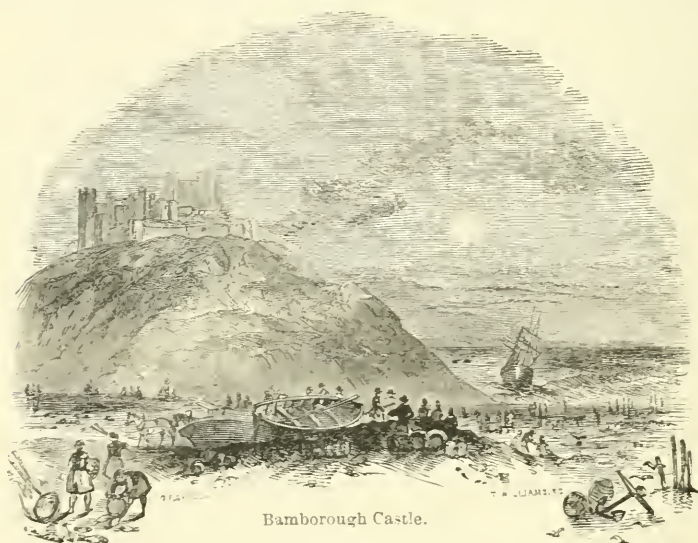


Raby Castle.

of his "Noble Families". Rowland devoted a life-long labour and unsparing expense to the consideration of the Neville history and genealogy. The origin of the house is lost in obscurity ; but if we believe Orderic Vitalis, a trustworthy historian of the twelfth century, it issues from a Teutonic stock possessing large fiefs in England previous to the Norman conquest of our island. Our late Vice-President, Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, prosecuted researches on the Norman ancestry of the Nevilles, which were afterwards published in this *Journal*, vol. xxii. The earliest seals of some of the family (that, for example, of Henry de Nevilla, reproduced by Mr. Swallow in Plate II, p. 326) show that this personage, like others of his own race, no doubt, adopted the *neville*, or little ship (*navilla*), as a family rebus, before the invention of heraldic bearings, much in the same way as the families of Martel, Porcel, and so forth, have done. How far this

idea countenances the derivation of all the branches of Nevilles from "de Nova Villa" has yet to be shown. The author has devoted a very considerable amount of research to his subject, and the work throughout evinces painstaking care to gather up all that may be gleaned from ancient chronicles and state papers respecting a house whose members were famed, almost without exception, for military prowess and ability, or for political importance, throughout the mediæval history of England.

The battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346,—so called from the magnificent Cross which once stood on the Brancepeth Road, of which the octagonal shaft is now the only original part, memorable in the history of Ralph de Neville, Lord of Raby, was a turning point in the long series of encounters between the sovereigns of England and Scotland, and Mr. Swallow has given a very lucid account of it. Richard Neville, "the King-Maker", his fortunes and his fate; Raby Castle, its noble architecture and its nobler owners; the Lady Anne Neville; Sheriff Hutton Castle; Bamborough Castle, scene of many a stubborn conflict;



Bamborough Castle.

and Middleham Castle, majestic in decay,—all furnish eloquent themes, and the author has not been slow to put on record the interesting aspects under which they are to be studied by the archæologist who is desirous of knowing the history of one of England's noblest lineages. When these stories are told in the attractive manner in which Mr. Swallow has told them, they acquire a greater hold on our memory, and possess a deeper fascination over our feelings.

Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland. By T. S. MUIR. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1885.)—This is a charmingly

quaint and simple work, illustrated in a masterly manner with pretty little sketches and etchings which enhance its value, and keep up the interest of the reader throughout. It is not deeply profound, nor does it profess to be. It is just such a running record of things noteworthy for their archæology as an intelligent traveller who had spared no pains to inspect all he could of the insular antiquities of Scotland would put on paper for the information of his fellow-students. But its especial value lies in its comprehensive nature, its newness, and the glimpses it affords of the seldom visited and remoter byeways of a country teeming with relics of a peculiar character. We have noticed, at different times, in the *Journal*, several works devoted to Scottish antiquities; and though they may be more learned, none are more likely to arouse the reader's curiosity, nor stimulate his love for the vestiges of our ancient Church, than Mr. Muir's *Ecclesiological Notes*. It makes up for many deficiencies and omissions in the late Precentor Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, from the crisp and thoroughly national way of looking at the subject, the light-heartedness, we may almost say *naïveté* of the diction, the occasional flashes of humour, and the digressions of travelling incidents with which it abounds.

To Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times* these *Notes* constitute a welcome pendant, and will not fail to secure, as they well deserve, a place side by side with them in every bookcase. The botanist and geologist may without difficulty glean some facts hitherto unknown to him out of the pages of this work, and an ecclesiologist might ransack a hundred volumes of the older historical and topographical accounts of Scotland without finding so many illustrations of early church architecture. Some of the edifices appear to indicate a fusion of Roman feeling with native massiveness. Stone masonry with unmortared walls, round-headed arches of the simplest character and extensive aperture, and primitively plain plans, tell of very remote ages. The entrance to the cave of St. Medan's Chapel (p. 248, Pl. 35), might as well be dated a thousand years B.C. as six or seven hundred A.D. The index of subjects is an especial feature of the work which will vastly increase its importance as a work of reference.

We hope Mr. Muir will put into print the results of some similar ramblings on the mainland of his native country, a task which he certainly ought to carry out, for there are few who can compete with his facile pencil, so liberally brought to bear upon the sites described in these *Notes*.

Queen Eleanor's Cross at Waltham.—It is decided to take steps for the preservation of this fine old structure, so well known to lovers of our national antiquities. The proposal has from time to time failed, either from want of workers, or because the property (in Chancery) could not readily be purchased. Some few years ago, however, several

members of our Association paid a visit to the Cross, and some interesting descriptions of it were rendered, which were listened to with interest by many of the residents.

An influential meeting was held on the 27th of May last, which was numerously attended, under the auspices of Sir H. Bruce Meux, Bart., President; the Bishop of St. Albans; Lord Aberdare; the Lord Mayor, M.P.; Sir Selwin Ibbetson, Bart., M.P.; Sir F. F. Buxton, Bart., J.P., and other gentlemen, Vice-Presidents; E. T. Dorat, Esq., J.P., Treasurer; and Messrs. W. Hammond and J. Sydeman, Honorary Joint Secretaries. We hope success may attend their efforts; but funds are urgently needed for this important work, and donations should be forwarded to the Treasurer, E. T. Dorat, Esq., J.P., Wood Green Park, Cheshunt, Herts.

It is not intended to interfere with the old work of this monument, except where some of the stones are decayed. It is necessary, however, to protect it from decay, that the designs of this elegant example of the artistic taste of our forefathers may be maintained intact. In 1830 a part of the Falcon Hotel wall abutted upon one of the statues in such a way as to force some portions out of place. This was altered by taking down a very small portion at the corner of the Falcon premises in 1832, when the Cross was last renovated; but the building is still close up to the Cross, completely hiding the view of it from one side.

The desirability of taking down part of the Falcon Hotel has been long felt. Thirty years ago Mr. William Hammond, aided by various friends, then being at Waltham Cross, suggested that this should be done, and that a roadway should be made round the Cross, so as to leave it in the centre; in the position which it once, doubtless, occupied previous to encroachments. The present proposal is to make such a roadway, and open the Cross to view, on the main road from London to Hertford and Cambridge.

Chronograms Continued. By J. HILTON, F.S.A. (London: E. Stock.)—Mr. Hilton's continuation and conclusion of his collection of chronograms sustain the interest of the first volume, and will be found by those who have taken delight in the quaint conceits, poems, historical episodes, epitaphs, inscriptions, dedications, and miscellaneous pieces into which the art and ingenuity of their writers have secretly interwoven their chronograms, to be a welcome work. Mr. Hilton's assiduity in research, which has carried him far and wide over the literary world, has been amply rewarded with an abundant harvest, and he has put it forth in a very scholarly and attractive manner.

Retrospections: Social and Archæological, by C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. Vol. II is in the press, price 10s. 6d. Subscribers' names will be received by the author, at Temple Place, Strood, Kent. Vol. I can be obtained of G. Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden.

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SEPTEMBER 1885.

THE DOMESDAY BOOK.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read 1 April 1885.)

To attempt to give even the shortest account of all the many interesting points in this remarkable book would be utterly impossible in the short space of time allowed us here to-night. But it occurred to me that some of our members, who have not seen the MS. itself, would be gratified by the exhibition of a photographic plate of one of the pages of each volume, recently taken for the Palæographical Society, and published in their First Series (pl. 344), if I were to accompany the exhibition with some few general remarks on the book, or rather trilogy¹ of books which are comprehended in the expression *Domesday*,² for much uncertainty exists in the popular ideas which are entertained on the subject. Eyton, the learned author who has done perhaps more than anyone to teach us how to read between the lines, proves how "*Domesday*,"³ examined county after county, becomes a science more and more exact. The utilitarianism or the indifferentism of the age will lead many to ignore such a science. These are they who will also despise history in any form. Even though a science, *Domesday* may become popular. There is hardly a man or a youth

¹ 1, The *Cambridge*; 2, the *Exon*; and 3, the *Exchequer Domesdays*.

² Also known by many other names, such as "*Liber Regis*, *Rotulus Wintoniæ*, *Liber Judiciarius*, *Angliæ Notitia et Illustratio*, *Liber Censualis Angliæ*, and *Scriptura Thesauri Regis*."

³ Pref. to *Somerset*.

of English birth, and with an English soul, who would not care to know something of the name and state, eight centuries ago, of the place wherein he was born and wherein he lives; something, too, of the relative condition of the class most parallel with that to which he himself happens to belong. To identify this or that locality with some place named in *Domesday*; to learn, if it be not so named, how and where it was represented or concealed in *Domesday*,—these, then, are matters of popular interest. Most of these identities lie on the surface of mere words. They are well known; we would rather say, widely advertised and largely believed. But many also are ill-ascertained, many unworthily accredited; and, beyond these, there are many identities which remain in needless obscurity, a few only which belong to the region of insoluble doubt. To minimise obscurity, to sift to the dregs all questions of difficulty, these are processes which can adequately be conducted only by treating *Domesday* as a science.”

I. The first record of which we must take cognizance here is the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, the “Inquest of Cambridgeshire”, published in 1876 by Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton of the British Museum, under the auspices of the Royal Society of Literature. This is the original return made by the *juratores* of the county of Cambridge in obedience to the king’s mandate, from which the *Exchequer Domesday* for that county was afterwards compiled by the royal secretaries. “It is much”, says Hamilton, “to be regretted that the only MS.” (British Museum, MS. Cotton., Tiberius A. vi, of which I am here enabled to exhibit a lithochromic facsimile) “in which this important document is known to exist, has been injured by time and neglect, and above all, has lost several of its leaves. The Return is consequently defective at the end.” The greater part, however, has come down to us, and the text, printed by the above-mentioned editor for the first time, and side by side with the corresponding entries extracted from the *Exchequer Domesday* (to which I shall direct your attention presently), contains abundant evidence that we have in this Cotton MS. the original source from which the *Exchequer Domesday* for that county was derived. “It is singular”, continues Hamilton,

“that so important a document should have hitherto been extant only in a solitary MS., unpublished, and exposed in consequence to many risks of being lost or destroyed. Doubtless, numerous historical and literary treasures still exist among our ancient MSS. which are unknown to students and antiquaries. But in regard to this particular MS. the strange part is that from the days of Selden to those of Ellis—that is, for a period of about 250 years—its existence had been known, and its importance as elucidating *Domesday* history understood, and, in part at least, acknowledged.” Even the indefatigable Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, late Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, has omitted all notice of this MS. in his account of the *Exchequer Domesday Book*, the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, and the *Exon Domesday*, in his *Catalogue of British History*, vol. ii. Thus Hamilton, though not pretending to have discovered this important fragment, was the first to bring its importance to light, and to give it to the learned world. It is doubtful if any previous student of *Domesday* had distinguished¹ the vital difference between the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, or “Inquest of Cambridgeshire”, and the comparatively far less important *Inquisitio Eliensis*, or “Inquest of the Lands of the Monastery at Ely”, a mere record of the landed property belonging to the monks of Ely, described therein as the lands of St. Æðelðryð, the founders of the nunnery of Ely in the seventh century, which latter had been quoted over and over again, and printed by Ellis in the folio Commission edition of 1816, vol. iii; while the still more valuable portion containing the description of the lay as well as the ecclesiastical lands, in the shape of a copy of the original *Domesday* return as made by the *juratores* on the Conqueror’s order, had been overlooked by everyone, although it occupies the folios adjacent to the “*Inquisitio Eliensis*” in the Cotton MS. already mentioned. Selden in 1596, Gale in 1722; Philip Carteret Webb, 1756; and R. Kelham, 1788, all well known and conscientious writers on the *Domesday*, appear to have been strangely ignorant of the true nature of this MS.; and the illustrious author

¹ Even since this paper was read, Mr. Stuart Moore, in *The Athenæum* of April 25, 1885, criticising some remarks made by me regarding *Domesday* MSS., fails to distinguish these differences.

and antiquary, Sir Henry Ellis, whose indispensable *Introduction to Domesday Book*,¹ and folio edition of the Indices to the *Exchequer Domesday* for the Record Commission, and additamenta, forming vols. iii and iv of the Record edition, and published in 1816, connect his name for ever with the great work of William the Conqueror, incredible as it may seem, merely prints that portion of the MS. which relates to the monastic lands of Ely, and omits, without even reference or mention, the most valuable portion Mr. Hamilton gave to the world.

The manuscript from which Hamilton's text is taken, and which, so far as is known, is the only remaining exemplar, is numbered Tiberius A. vi among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. Its contents are: 1. A copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to the year 977. 2. A memorandum entitled "De portione crucis reperta a Sergio Papa", etc. 3. "Nomina Paparum qui miserunt pallium archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus ab Augustino ad Anselmum." 4. "The Inquisitio Eliensis." 5. The Inquisition of Cambridgeshire. 6. A collection of charters and early documents relating to the monastery at Ely; and 7. A chronicle of England from Hardacnut to the 20th year of Edward III, in French.

The Inquisition of Cambridgeshire is contained between folios 76 and 113, one folio being lost between 111 and 112. It is written on vellum in double columns, thirty-one lines to a page, and in a fine bold hand of the concluding years of the twelfth century, perhaps about A.D. 1180. It is ornamented with capital letters in blue and red colours, and had occasionally floriated initials. The facsimile of the first folio, here exhibited, containing the Inquisition (f. 76) is a faithful reproduction of the manuscript page. The Ely Inquisition is in the same manuscript, and in the same handwriting, but has been placed out of its order (by those who arranged the MS. for binding), before the Cambridge Inquisition. It will be found in folios 38-70.

II. The *Exon Domesday*, the second member of the *Domesday* trilogy, is so called because it belongs to the Cathedral Library of Exeter. The MS.² resembles the Cambridgeshire Inquest inasmuch as it contains an exact

¹ Two vols. 8vo., 1833.

² There are some useful notices of this MS. in MS. Lansd. 320.

transcript of the original returns made by the royal commissioners of William the Conqueror, and from which the *Exchequer Domesday*, or *Liber Censualis*, was compiled or abridged. There are (in like manner as has been described in the account of the Cambridgeshire Inquest) many variations between the Exeter and the Exchequer MSS., the chief of which, according to Hardy, are as follow:

1. The Exeter MS. furnishes more detailed information than the Exchequer volume, which is especially apparent in the enumeration of the live stock on the several estates.

2. There is a marked difference in the diction of the two MSS., even where they agree in sense.

3. The variation in the spelling of proper names is remarkable. In the Exeter MS. the names of places have almost invariably a Latin termination, which is not usual in the Exchequer Book; and the names of persons frequently differ, though not to the same extent as those of places.

4. The names of the tenants in the time of Edward the Confessor are more numerously preserved in the *Exeter* than in the *Exchequer Domesday*.

This *Exon Domesday* is unfortunately confined to a description of the south-western parts of the kingdom, comprising the five counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. It is a small folio MS. of the eleventh century, consisting of 532 folios, and appears to have been the work of at least three different scribes, and at various times,—a fact made evident by the variation in the mode of making the marks of abbreviations, and more particularly in the contraction of the word *et*. It was printed for the Commissioners on Public Records, under the editorship of Sir Henry Ellis, in 1816.

III. The *Domesday Book* itself, that is, the *Exchequer Domesday Book*, now preserved in the Public Record Office at Fetter Lane, where it was, I believe, inspected a few years ago by those members and country friends of this Association who availed themselves of one of Mr. G. R. Wright's unofficial excursions to London in the autumn of the year, is the central light of this subject; and the excellent autotype facsimile photographs enable us all to see the form and character of the MS. It is a vellum folio¹ of the eleventh century. The whole of the

¹ The first volume being larger than the second.

MS. was printed, writes Hardy,¹ in the last century, in consequence of an address by the House of Lords to the King in 1767. This great and expensive work was commenced in 1772, and the two volumes folio of which it consists were completed in 1783. Sir Henry Ellis, as I have already stated, printed two more volumes (iii and iv) containing indices and supplementary pieces. Portions of the *Domesday Book* have been printed in almost every county history; and a complete facsimile has been made by means of photo-zincography,—a process eminently and notoriously ill adapted to the faithful reproduction of ancient MSS. (because of the artificial manipulation required to complete the work),—under the direction of Colonel Sir Henry James, F.R.S., of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton.

The work of *Domesday* was commenced about A.D. 1084² (the exact time being unknown, and variously stated). It was finished in 1086. As soon as each "Inquisition" was completed it was forwarded to Winchester, where, after being abstracted, all "Inquisitions" were digested into one body; and thus was formed the existing transcript. That this is fuller³ in some places than others is no doubt owing to the fact that this same difference characterised the original returns, and also to the fact that some of the scribes who drew up the final state of the work were more strongly actuated by the desire of brevity than others. The very character of the handwriting, technically called "set minuscules", has been said to bear but little resemblance to either the book-hand or the Chancery charter-hand of the period, and with great probability may have been introduced by some of the foreign ecclesiastics of the Conqueror's court. The writing has been thought by some to resemble an Italian hand; and if the conjecture be correct, that the scribes were indeed of that country, it is possible that Lanfranc, the Lombard Archbishop of Canterbury, whom William of Malmesbury calls "*litteratura perinsignis*", had supervision of the work.

We learn from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the

¹ *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, ii, 34.

² Hume says 1081 (*Hist.*, i, 275); Planché, 1082 (*Corner of Kent*, 87); but see further on, in my extracts from *Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 1085.

³ Beaumont, *Domesday*, Lancashire, pref., vi.

year 1085, the following particulars of the manner in which *Domesday* originated:—A.D. 1085. “Then, at mid-winter, the King was at Gloucester with his *witan*, and there held his court five days, and afterwards the Archbishop and clergy had a synod three days.....After this, the King had a great council, and very deep speech with his *witan* about this land,—how it was peopled, or by what men. Then sent he his men over all England, into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the King himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he caused to be written how much land his archbishops had, and his suffragan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and—though I may narrate somewhat prolixly—what or how much each man had, who was a holder of land in England,—in land or in cattle, and how much money it might be worth. So very narrowly he caused it to be traced out that there was not one single hide, nor one ‘yard’ (virgate) of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed to him no shame to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was left that was not set down in his writ. And all the writings were brought to him afterwards.”¹

And again, under A.D. 1087, the same *Chronicle* relates: “He (William) reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ.”²

Its compilation then, as we gather,³ was determined on at Gloucester by the King in council, in order that he might know what was due to him in the shape of taxes from every subject, and that they, in their turn, might know what each had to pay. Thus it was calculated to be as much for the protection of the subject as for the benefit of the sovereign. The nobles and the people had been, as we know, grievously distressed by the immigration, under royal auspices, of large numbers of French and Bretons, who were, so to speak, billeted on the natives according to the extent of their land, ostensibly

¹ Thorpe's Translation for the Master of the Rolls.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hardy, *Cat.*, ii, 34.

for the purpose of resisting the apprehended Danish invasion.

The commissioners appointed to take the survey were to inquire into the following numerous points:—1, the name of the place; 2, who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; 3, the present possessor; 4, of how many hides the manor consisted; 5, how many ploughs there were in demesne; 6, how many homagers; 7, how many villeins; 8, how many cottars; 9, how many serving-men; 10, how many free tenants; 11, how many tenants in socage; 12, how much wood, meadow, and pasture there was; 13, the number of mills and fish-ponds; 14, what had been added to or taken away from the place; 15, the gross value in the time of King Edward (returned as “T. R. E.”, or “quando rex Edwardus fuit vivus et mortuus”); 16, the present value; 17, how much each freeman or socman had or has, and whether any advance can be made in the value.

Thus it could be ascertained who held any specified estate in the time of King Edward the Confessor, who then held it, what was the value in the time of the late King, and the value at the moment of taking the particulars. To the minuteness of this survey the concluding portion of the translated extracts given above bears sadly graphic testimony.

It has not yet been satisfactorily explained why many districts were left unnoticed in the great survey, which was manifestly intended to embrace the whole territory of England. The four important and extensive northern English counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the survey. Possibly these counties were not in a satisfactorily settled condition to enable the emissaries of the King to visit the ground they were to report upon, or there may have been no return to make. We know that in A.D. 1080, only a few years before the commencement of the record was made, the King had desolated the province of Durham, which was just beginning to recover from the baneful and destructive effects of a foreign invasion. The murder of Walkere, Bishop of Durham, in May of that year, it is related, “occasionem¹ dedit regi

¹ Will. Malm., *Gesta Pont.*, p. 271.

ut provincię illius reliquias, quę aliquantulum respiraverant, funditus exterminaret". Lancashire does not appear under its proper name; but Furness and the northern parts of the county, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with a part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire. That portion of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey, and which at the time of the surveys comprehended 688 manors, is subjoined to Cheshire; and part of the county of Rutland is described in the account of the counties of Northampton and Lincoln.

Sir Thomas D. Hardy does not speak very enthusiastically of the historical value of *Domesday Book*. He says,¹ "Very few historical occurrences or illustrations of ancient manners are noticed in the Survey. Those which occur have been collected by Sir Henry Ellis in his *General Introduction to Domesday Book*."

This copy is in two volumes. Vol. I contains the survey of thirty shires; that is to say, of all that were surveyed except Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, the fuller reports of which are contained in a second volume. This consists of 382 leaves, vellum, measuring $14\frac{5}{8}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. It is written in double columns. The arrangement is in quires, generally of eight leaves ruled on one side, with double vertical lines bounding the columns. The writing is in "set minuscules", with frequent changes of hand. Running titles and headings are in red.

Vol. II contains the full reports for the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. This contains 450 leaves, vellum, measuring $10\frac{5}{8}$ by $7\frac{5}{8}$ ins. At the end is the following memorandum, "Anno Millesimo Octogesimo sexto ab incarnatione domini, vigesimo vero regni Willelmi facta est ista descriptio non solum per hos tres comitatus sed etiam per alios." The arrangement is in quires, generally of eight leaves ruled on one side; some of the sheets being remnants, without corners, or otherwise defective. The writing is in "set minuscules", with frequent change of hand. Running titles are in red, and the initial letters are filled with patches of red.

There is a nicely written fragment containing part of the Kent Survey in the British Museum, Cotton. MS. Vitellius C. viii, ff. 143-156. This was probably at first

¹ *Cat. Brit. Hist.*, ii, 235.

a roll, and is now cut up and inlaid into 14 leaves. It is in a handwriting of the twelfth century, and written only on one side of the page. The text agrees pretty closely with that of the *Exchequer Domesday*, but is deserving of a careful collation.

Of the late paper copies and manuscript extracts of *Domesday Book*, in the British Museum and other places of deposit, I do not propose to say anything in this paper.

ABRIDGED DOMESDAY.

There are three abridged copies of the *Exchequer Domesday Book* :—

1. Record Office, formerly in Chapter House, for the use of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer.

2. Record Office, formerly in the Office of the King's Remembrancer, for the use of the Treasurers, and afterwards in the custody of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer.

3. British Museum, Arundel MS. 153.

1. This is a folio volume, well written, with some spirited initial letters and illuminations. It is reputed to be of the time of Edward I, and agrees completely in respect of arrangement, and almost *verbatim et literatim* with the second MS. (of which I have been fortunately able to obtain the very detailed account which follows), and from which this was most probably compiled. The two MSS. are evidently not of coeval creation, although the writing of both is somewhat homogeneous. In the fly-leaf of this MS. is an absurd memorandum of Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms, and one of the Vice-Chamberlains of Queen Anne's Exchequer, stating his opinion that the MS. was written and illuminated in the time of Henry VII. Sir Henry Ellis appears to have been unaware of the existence of this MS.

2. The copy of the *Domesday Book* in the Office of the Remembrancer of the Exchequer. The following is mainly derived from an account from an official hand :—

"DOMESDAY BOOK.

"The earliest Record as regards subject-matter, though perhaps not compilation, removed from the King's Remembrancer Office to the Record Office, is that which forms the greater portion of a

volume passing under the denomination of DOMESDAY BOOK. It is a small folio volume in the original oak binding with bosses. By comparison with the printed copy of the *Domesday Book* in the Public Record Office, and the *Exon Domesday*, the Record in question appears to be a *very partial abridgment*. The object for which it was compiled is not apparent, and it cannot be stated with certainty to what extent the abridgment is carried until a precise investigation has been made between the several Records, yet some idea of the variations may be gained from the following extracts. The incipient sentences of each volume are taken, and the corresponding portions of the *Exchequer Domesday* underlined.

“Domesday of the Remembrancer’s Office.”

‘KENT.—Terra Regis. Tempore Regis Edwardi Burgenses Dovere invenerūt . xx^{ti}. naves Regi una vice in anno ad . xv. dies 7 ī unaq^a navi erant homines . xx^{ti}. 7 un^o. Hoc faciebant p eo qđ eis pdonaverat sacam 7 socam. Q^ando Missatici Regis veniebant ibi: dabāt p Caballo tⁿsducendo . iii . deñ in hieme 7 duos in estate. Burgenses v^o inveniebāt Stiremannū 7 unū aliū adjutorem. Et si plus op^o ēēt: de pecunia ej^o conducebat^r.

‘In dimidio lest de Sudona in Athestani hundred. Rex Wilt^s teñ Tarentefort . p uno solino 7 dimidio se defendit. De hoc mañio tenet Hugo de Port dimid^o soliñ in Hagelei.

‘In lest de Flesford in Laverochesfeld hund. Elefford p uno soliñ.

‘In diñ lest de Mideltune in Middeltune hund. Middeltune p q^ater . xx^{ti}. soliñ se defend. Extra hos: sunt ī dominio . iii . soliñ. De hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$. teñ Hugo de Port . viii soł 7 . i. jugū.

‘In lest de Wiwarlet in Faveresham hund: Favereshant . p . vii . soł se defendit.’

“Exchequer Domesday.”

‘CHENTH.—Dovere Tēpore regis Edwardi reddebat . xviii. libras . de quibus denariis habebat rex . E. duas partes 7 comes Goduin^o terciā. Contra hoc habebant canonici de s^co Martino medietatē aliam. Burgenses deder^t . xx^{ti}. naues ^{regi} | una uice in anno ad . xv. dies . 7 in una quaq^a navi erant hōes . xx^{ti} 7 un^o. Hoc faciebant pro eo qđ eis pdonauerat saccū 7 socā. Quando missatici regis ueniebant ibi: dabant pro caballo transducendo . iii^{es}. denarios in hieme . 7 ii^{os}. in estate. Burgenses u^o inveniebān stiremannū 7 unū aliū adjutorē . 7 si plus opus . ēēt: de pecunia ej^o conducebat^r . ¶ A

festiuitate S' Michaelis usq. ad festū Sēi Andreae:.....

[Five columns omitted before the relative portions appear in the copy of the Remembrancer's Office.]

'Terra Regis. In Dimidio Lest de Svdtone. In Achestan Hd.—
I. Rex Willelmvs teñ Tarentefort. p uno solino 7 dimidio se defđ.

T'ra . ē . XL. caruē. In dñio sunt . II. cañ . 7 CXLII. uiffi cū . x. bord
hñt . LIII. cañ. Ibi sunt . III. serui . 7 I. mold . p^{ati} . XXII. acrae .
pasturae . XL. aē. De silua . VIII. denae paruæ . 7 III. magnæ. Ibi .
II. hedæ . id est . II^o. port^o. T. R. E: ualuit . LX. lib . 7 tñtđ qđo

^{uicec'}
haimo recepit. Modo appciat^r ab anglis . LX. lib. P'posit^o u^o
franciġ qui teñ ad firmā . dicit q'ia uať q^{at} xx^{ti} . lib . 7 x. lib. Ipse
tañ reddit de isto $\overline{\text{m}}$. LXX. lib pensatas . 7 CXI. solid de deñ . xx^{ti}.
in ora . 7 VII. lib 7 XXVI. deñ ad numeř. Sup hæc reddit uicec . c.
soť. Homines de Hund testificant^r . qđ de isto $\overline{\text{m}}$ regis ablatū . ē
unū p^{atū} . 7 uñ alnetū . 7 uñ mold . 7 xx^{ti} acrae ĩræ . 7 adhuc tanť
p^{ati} quantū ptiñ ad . x. ac^s ĩræ . quæ oña erañ in firma regis . E.
dū uineret . h uať . xx^{ti}. soť. Dicunt auť qđ Osuuard ĩc uicecom
præstitit ea Alestan pposito Lundoñ . 7 m^o teñ helt^o dapifer 7

^{r ej}.
nepos Testant^r quoq. qđ Hagelei de isto $\overline{\text{m}}$ ablata . ē . quæ se defđ
p diñ soliñ. Hanc ĩrā tenebat uicecom . 7 qđo uicecomitatū amit-
tebat: in firma regis remaneb. Ita pmansit 7 post mortē R. E.
Modo teñ Hugo de port . cū . LIII. acris ĩræ plus . Totū hoc uať .
xv. lib. ¶ De eod $\overline{\text{m}}$ regis adhuc sunt ablatae . VI. acrae ĩræ . 7
quedā silua quā isđ ^{uicec'} Osuuard^o posuit ext^a $\overline{\text{m}}$. p qđdā uadimoñ . XL.
solidoz. ¶ Eccl^aam huj^o $\overline{\text{m}}$ teñ eřs de Rouecestre . 7 uať LX. soť.
Extra hanc suñ adhuc ibi . III. æcclesiolæ.

'In Lest de Elesford. In Lavrochesfel Hvnd.—Rex W. teñ
Elesford . p uno soliñ se defđ. T'ra ē . xv. cañ. In dñio sunt . III.
cañ . 7 XL. uiffi cū . v. bord hñt . xv. cañ . Ibi . VIII. serui . 7 I. mold .
XL. deñ . 7 . XLIII ac p^{ati} . Silua . LXX. porē. Inť toť ualeb. T. R. E.
xv. lib . 7 ĩntđ qđo ^{uicec'} haimo recep . m^o uať . xx. lib . Tañ redd . xxxi.
lib . 7 uicec inde hť III. lib. De hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$ teñ Ansgot^o juxta roue-
cestre tantū ĩræ . qđ appciat^r. VII. lib . Eřs etiā de Rouecesť p
excābio ĩre in qua castellū sedet . tantū de hac ĩra teñ . qđ . xvii^{te}.
soť 7 III^{or}. deñ uať.

^{dimidio}
'In Lest de Middeltvne. In Middeltvn Hund.—Rex . W. teñ
Middeltvne . p quať xx^{ti}. solins se defđ. Extra hos: sunt in dñio

III. solins . 7 ibi . III. cañ in dñio. In hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$. ccc^{ti} . 7 IX. uiffi cū .
 LXXIII. bord . hñt . CLX.VII. cañ . Ibi sunt . VI. mold de .XXX. solid . 7
 XVIII^{to} . ac p^{ati} . Ibi . XXVII. salinae de . XXVII. solidis . Ibi . XXXII. pis-
 cariae de . XXII. soť 7 VIII. deñ . De theloneo XL. soť . De pastura .
 XIII. soť 7 III. deñ . Silua . CC.XX. porč . 7 hōes de Walt reddunt .
 L. soť pro Ineuuard 7 Aueris. In hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$ sunt . X. serui . Inť totū .
 T. R. E. ualeb CC. lib ad numerū . 7 tñd qđo Haimo recep̃ . 7 m^o
 similiter. ¶ De hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$ teñ hugo de port . VIII. solins 7 unū jugū .
 qui T. R. E. erant cū alijs solins in čsuetudine. Ibi hť . III. cañ in
 dñio. H' ťra quā teñ Hugo de port . uať . XX. lib q^{ae} cōputant^r in
 .cc^{ti}s. lib toti^o $\overline{\text{m}}$ Middeltvn . qui teñ reddīt . CXL. lib ad ignē et ad
 pensā . 7 insup . xv. lib 7 VI. soť . II. denať min^o ad numerū .
 Haimoni dat pposit^o . XII. lib. ¶ De silua regis hť Wadard^o tanť
 qđ redd XVI. deñ p anñ . 7 dimidiā denā tenet quā T. R. E. qđā
 uillan^o tenuit . 7 Alnod eild duas partes cuidā uiffo p uim abstulit.
 ¶ Æccťas 7 decimas huj^o $\overline{\text{m}}$ teñ abb S' Augustini . 7 XL. soť de .
 III. solins regis exeunt ei.

‘In Lest de Wiwarlet. In Favreshant Hvnd.—Rex W. teñ
 Favreshant . p VII. solins se defđ . T'ra . ē XVII. cañ . In dñio sunt
 .II^{ae} . Ibi . XXX. uiffi cū . XL. bord . hñt . XXIII. cañ . Ibi . v. serui .
 7 I. moliñ de . XX. soť . 7 II^{ae} . ac p^{ati} . Silua . c. porč . 7 de pastura
 siluae . XXXI. soť . 7 II. deñ. Mercatū . de . III. lib . 7 II^{ae} . salinae de
 .III. solid 7 II. deñ . 7 in cantuať ciuitate . III^{es} . hagæ | ad hoc $\overline{\text{m}}$
 ptiñ. In totis ualenť T. R. E. ualeb . LX. lib . v. solid min^o . 7 post :'
 LX. lib . Modo uať q^{ater} . xx^{ti} . lib.’

“ *Domesday of the Remembrancer's Office.* ”

‘MIDDELSEX.—Terť S' Peti Westmoñ. In Josulvestane hđ . I
 villa ubi sedet ecčťa Sđi Peti teñ Abb ej^odem loci . XIII. hid 7 diñ.
 In eadem villa teñ Bernard^o . III. hid de Abbe. Hamstede teñ Abb
 Sđi Petri . p III. hid. In eadē villa teñ Rannulf^o Pevrel de Abbe
 .I. hid. In Speletone hđ. Stanes teñ Abb p . XIX. hid. Suneberie
 p . VII. hid. Scepertone p . VIII. hid. In Helertone hđ. Grene-
 forde p . XI. hid 7 diñ. Hanewelle p . VIII. hid. Covellie p . II. hid.
 In hund de Gare . tenet Wiffs Camerari^o sb Abbe . II. hid 7 diñ in
 Chingesberie . Handone teñ Abb p . XX. hid. Hermodesw̃rde . teñ
 abb S' Tñitatis Rotomağ de Rege . p XXX. hid. In Speletorne hđ .
 I. hid.’

“ Exchequer Domesday.

‘MIDELSEXE.—Terra S̄ci Petri Westmoñ In Osvlvestane h̄d. ṡ In Villa ubi sedet æcc̄sa S’ Petri . tenet abb̄ ej² dē loci . XIII. hid̄ 7 diñ . T’ra ē ad XI. cañ . Ad dñiū ptiñ . IX. hidæ 7 I. uirḡ . 7 ibi suñ . III. cañ . Vitti hñt . VI. cañ . 7 I. cañ plus poť fieri . Ibi . IX. uitti q̄isq̄ de . I. uirḡ . 7 I. uitts de . I. hida . 7 IX. uitti q̄isq̄ de diñ uirḡ . 7 I. coť de . v. ač . 7 XL. I. coť q̄i reddt p anñ . XL. soť p ortis suis. P^{at}ū XI. cañ . Past’a ad pecuñ uillæ . Silua . c. porč . 7 xxv. dom^o militū abbis 7 alioz hōum . qui reddt VIII. soť p annū . In totis ualenť uať . x. liť . Q’do recep̄ . similiť . T. R. E. :’ XII. liť . Hoc ṡ fuit 7 est in dñio æcc̄sæ S’ Petri . Westmonasterij . In ead̄ uilla teñ Bainiard^o . III. hid̄ de abbe . T’ra ē . ad . II. cañ . 7 ibi suñ in dñio . 7 I. coť . Silua . c. porč . Past’a ad pecuñ . Ibi . III. arpeni uineæ . nouiť planť . In totis ualenť uať . LX. soť . Q’do recep̄ :’ xx. soť T. R. E. VI. liť . H’ ģra jacuit 7 jacet in æcc̄sa S’ Petri. ṡ Hamestede teñ abb̄ S’ Petri . III. hid̄ . T’ra . III. cañ . Ad dñiū ptiñ . III. hid̄ 7 diñ . 7 ibi . ē . I. cañ . Vitti hñt . I. cañ . 7 alia poť fieri . Ibi . I. uitt de . I. uirḡ . 7 v. bord̄ de . I. uirḡ . 7 I. seru^o . Silua . c. porč . Inť totū uať . L. soť . Q’do recep̄ . simiť . T. R. E. :’ c. soť . In ead̄ uilla teñ Ranñ peurel sub abbe . I. hidā de ģra uittoz . T’ra diñ cañ . 7 ibi est . H’ ģra ualuit 7 uať v. solid̄ . Hoc ṡ totū simul jacuit 7 jacet in dñio æcc̄læ S’ Petri.

‘In Speletorne Hynd. ṡ Stanes teñ abb̄ S’ Petri p . XIX. hid̄ . T’ra est ad XXIII. cañ . Ad dñiū ptiñ . XI. hidæ . 7 ibi sunt XIII. cañ . Vitti hñt XI. cañ . Ibi . III. uitti . q̄isq̄ diñ ģ . 7 . III. uitt de . I. ģ . 7 VIII^{to} . uitt q̄isq̄ de diñ uirḡ . 7 XXXVI. bord̄ de . III. ģ . 7 I. uitt . de . I. uirḡ . 7 III. bord̄ de . XL. ač . 7 x. bord̄ . q̄isq̄ . v. ač 7 v. coť . q̄isq̄ . de . III. ač . 7 VIII. bord̄ de . I. uirḡ . 7 III. coť de . IX. ač . 7 XII. serui . 7 XLVI. burḡ q̄i reddt p annū . XL. soť . Ibi . VI. molini de . LXIII. soť . 7 I. guort de . VI. soť . 7 VIII. deñ . 7 I. guort qđ nil redd̄ . Past’a ad pecuñ uillæ . P^{at}ū . XXIII. cañ . 7 xx. soť de sup plus . Silua xxx. porč . 7 . II. arpenñ uineæ . Ad hoc ṡ ptineñ III. bereuñ . 7 ibi fueť . T. R. E. In totis ualentijs uať xxxv. liť . Q’do recep̄ . simiť . T. R. E. :’ XL. liť . Hoc ṡ jacuit 7 jacet in dñio æcc̄sæ S’ Petri. ṡ Svñeberie teñ abb̄ S’ Petri . p VII. hid̄ . T’ra . VI. cañ . ē ibi . Ad dñiū ptiñ . III. ģ . 7 I. cañ ibi . ē . Vitti hñt . III. cañ . Ibi p̄br hť diñ uirḡ . 7 VIII. uitti . q̄isq̄ . I. uirḡ . 7 II. uitti de . I. uirḡ . 7 v. bord̄ de .

l. uirg̃ . 7 v. coř . 7 l. seru^o . p^atū . vi. cař . Past'a ad pecuñ uillae . In totis ualentijs ualet . vi. lib . Q'do recep̃ : similiř . T. R. E. : vii. lib . Hoc ƿ fuit 7 est in dñio æccle S' Petri. ƿ Seepertone teñ ab̃b S' Petri p . viii. hid . T'ra ē ad . vii. cař . Ad dñiū ptiñ . iii. h 7 dim . 7 ibi est . i. cař . uiffi hñt . vi. cař . Ibi . xvii. uiffi q'sq̃ . de . i. uirg̃ . Pbr . xv. ac^{as} . 7 iii. coř . de . ix. ač . 7 ii. coř 7 ii. serui . p^atū . vii. ċ . Past'a ad pecuñ uille . 7 i. guort . de . vi. soř 7 viii. deñ . Inř toř uat . vi. lib . ¶ Q'do recep̃ . simit . T. R. E. : vii. lib . Hoc ƿ fuit 7 ē in dñio æccle S' Petri.

'In Heletorne hvndret. ƿ Greneforde teñ ab̃b S' Petri . p xi. hid 7 diñ . T'ra . ē . vii. cař . Ad dñiū ptiñ . v. hid . 7 i. cař . ibi . ē . 7 alia potest fieri . Viffi hñt . v. cař . Ibi . i. uiffs hř i. hid . 7 i. uirg̃ . 7 . iii. uiffi q'sq̃ de diñ hid . 7 iii. uiffi de . i. hid . 7 vii. bord de . i. hid . Q'dā franč . i. hidā 7 i. uirg̃ . 7 iii. coř 7 vi. serui . Silua . ccc. porč . Past'a ad pecuñ uillae . In totis ualenř . uat vii. lib . Q'do recep̃ . similiř . T. R. E. : x. lib . Hoc ƿ jacuit 7 jacet in dñio æccle S' Petri. ƿ Hanewelle teñ ab̃b S' Petri . p viii. hid . se defend . T'ra v. cař . Ad dñiū ptiñ . iii. h 7 . i. uirg̃ . 7 i. cař . ibi ē . Viffi hñt . iii. cař . Ibi i. uiffs de . ii. hid . 7 iii. uiffi . de . i. hid 7 vi. bord de . iii. uirg̃ 7 iii. coř . 7 ii. serui . Ibi . i. moliñ de . ii. soř 7 ii. deñ . P^atū i. cař . Silua . l. porč . In totis ualenř uat . c. 7 x. soř . Q'do recep̃ . simit . T. R. E. : vii. lib . Hoc ƿ fuit 7 ē in dñio S' Petri. ƿ Covelie . teñ ab̃b S' Petri . p ii. hid se defend . T'ra . ē . i. cař . Ad dñiū ptiñ . i. hida 7 diñ . 7 ibi . ē . i. cař . Ibi . ii. uiffi de diñ h . 7 i. coř . P^atū diñ cař . Past'a ad peč uiffe . Silua . xl. porč 7 moliñ . de v. soř . H' řra uat . xxx. soř . Q'do recep̃ . similiř . T. R. E. : xl. soř . Hanc řrā tenuit 7 tenet in dñio S' Petr^o Westmoñ . In Hvnd de Gare . teñ Wiffs camerari^o sub ab̃b S' Petri . ii. hid 7 diñ in Chingesberie . T'ra . ii. cař . In dñio . i. cař . 7 uiffi i. cař . Ibi v. uiffi q'sq̃ de . i. uirg̃ . 7 i. coř . Silua . cc. porč . H' řra uat . xxx. soř . Q'do recep̃ . similiř . T. R. E. : lx. soř . Hanc řrā tenuit Aluui^o horne teign^o regis . E. in uadimonio de q'dā hōe S' Petri. ƿ Handone . teñ ab̃b S' Petri . p xx. hid se defend . T'ra . xvi. cař . Ad dñiū ptiñ . x. hide 7 ibi suñ . iii. cař . Viffi hñt . viii. cař 7 v^q adhuc poss̃ fieri . Ibi pbr hř . i. uirg̃ . 7 iii. uiffi q'sq̃ diñ h 7 vii. uiffi q'sq̃ i. uirg̃ . 7 xvi. uiffi q'sq̃ diñ uirg̃ . 7 xii. bord q' teneñ diñ hid . 7 vi. coř 7 i. seru^o . P^atū . ii. boū . Silua . mille porč . 7 x. soř . In totis ualenř uat . viii. lib . Q'do recep̃ similiř . T. R. E. : xii. lib . Hoc ƿ jacuit 7 jacet in dñio ecce S' Petri.

'Terra Sčæ Trinitatis De Monte Rotoñ. ƿ Hermodesworde .

Rotomag'

tenet abb S' Trinitatis de rege . p xxx. hid se defend . T'ra . ē xx. cañ . Ad dñiū ptiñ . viii. hidæ . 7 ibi suñ . iii. cañ . Inñ franç 7 uiffos suñ x. cañ . 7 vii. adhuc poss . cē . Ibi qidā miles hñ . ii. hid . 7 ii. uiffi q'sq . i. h 7 ii. uiffi de . i. h . 7 xiiii. uiffi q'sq de . i. uirg . 7 vi. uiffi q'sq de diñ uirg . 7 vi. bord q'sq . v. ac . 7 vii. coñ 7 vi. serui . Ibi . iii. molini . de lx. soñ . 7 q'ingenť anguiff . 7 de piscinis . mille Anguillæ . Patū . xx. cañ . Past'a ad pecuñ uillæ . Silua q'ingenť porč 7 i. arpeñ uineæ . In totis ualenť uať . xx. lib . Q'do recep . xii. lib . T. R. E : xxv. lib . Hoc m tenuit coñ Herald^o . 7 in hoc m fuit qidā sochs teñ ii. hid de his . xxx. h . ñ potuit dare t uendē ext^a hermodesworde . T. R. E. In Speletorne hvdñ teñ S' Trinitatis Hertald^o m^o de rege i. hid . T'ra diñ cañ . Ibi . ē . un^o uiffi q' tenet eā . Patū diñ cañ . H' ĩra uať x. soñ . Q'do recep . similiť . T. R. E. similiť . Hanc ĩra tenuit Goldin^o hō comitis Herald i . ñ potuit nendē t dare sine ej^o licentia.'

"The variations between the three *Domesdays* may be readily perceived in the following arrangement :—

(1.) "*Remembrancer's Domesday*. (2.) "*Exchequer Domesday* (p. 117.)

' DEVENESCHIRE.

' TERRA NICOLAI BALISTARIJ.

' Nicholaus Balistari^o teñ de Rege Wiberie p diñ hid.

' Nicolavs teñ de rege Wiberie. Ordric teneb T. R. E. 7 geldb p diñ hida . T'ra . ē . iii. cañ . Ibi . iii. bord hñt . i cañ . 7 iii. ac siluæ . 7 xx. ac pasturæ . Olim . xii. deñ . Modo uať xv. soñ.

' Grennelize p iii. vi.

' Ipse . Ni. Grennelize . Quat-^{ten'} tuor taini teneb T. R. E. ^{in parag'} | 7 geldb . p . iii. uirg ĩrae . T'ra . ē . iii. cañ . q̃ ibi sť cū i. seruo 7 iii. uiffi 7 iii. bord . 7 ii. ac p^ati . Oli . x. solid . Modo uať xx. solid.

' Stoches p ii. vi ĩ diñ.'

' Ipse N. teñ Stoches . Ordric teneb T. R. E. 7 geldb p . ii. uirg . 7 dimid . T'ra . ē . v. cañ . Ibi . sť . iii. car . 7 vi. uiffi 7 vii. bord . 7 v. serui 7 iii. ac . p^ati . 7 xx. ac pasturæ . Oli 7 m^o uať xxx. solid.'

“The MS. of the King’s Remembrancer’s Office appears, from the character of the writing, to have been made about the twelfth century; but there is not sufficient evidence to determine the actual period. It does not appear that either of these MSS. are noticed in the published Dissertation on *Domesday* by Sir Henry Ellis. This volume probably, at some period, formed one of the muniments of a Welsh religious establishment, or was possessed by the family of *Breuse*; and there are no reasons which satisfactorily account for its appearance in its present repository.

“A miscellaneous collection of other subjects, in handwritings of various ages, is scattered throughout the volume:—

“1. On the fly-leaf attached to the cover are two short prophecies headed ‘Par le dit Merlyn’.

“2. Twenty-five pages containing a chronicle in a handwriting contemporary with the last recorded facts, and especially treating of Wales and Welshmen, ‘Primo die seculi nascentis fecit Deus lucem quam appellavit diem’. The concluding sentences are:— ‘Annus m cc lxxxiii. David [Walensis] cum duob; filiis uxore et

(3.) “*Exon Domesday* (p. 434, etc.)

‘TERRA NICOLAI ARBALESTarii IN DEVENESIRA.

archibalistarius

‘¶ Nicholaus h̄t . i. mansionē quæ uocat^r Wibeberia. quā tenuit Odriti^o. ea die q^a rex E. f. u. 7 . m. 7 reddidit Gildū p diñ hið. ^{m^o ten& reger^r aculeus de Nicholao} hanc possē arare III. carē. Inde h̄t Nicholaus. i. uirgā 7 diñ indnō 7. i. carē. Ibi h̄t. N. III. bordarios. 7 .xxx. oues. 7 III. agros nemoris. 7 .xx. agros pascuæ. 7 ual& p annū xv. soł. 7 q^{do} N. recep ualebat XII. deñ.

‘¶ Nicolaus h̄t i. q̄ uocat^r Grenneliza q teñ III. tagni parit. ea die q^a E. rex f. ū. & m̄. & redd gild p. II. uirg. has poss arare. III. carē. Inde h̄t. Nicolaus indnō. i. uirgā. & i. carē. & uiff II. uirgas & . II. carē. Ibi h̄t N. III^{or} uiff & III. bord. & . i. seruū & II. aḡ p^{ati}. & uat xx. soł. p anñ. & q^{do} recep. uat. x. soł. Istā manš h̄t nicolaus p escanbiis.

‘¶ Nicolaus h̄t. i. mansionē que uocat^r Stoches. quā tenuit Ordrius ea die qua rex E. f u 7 . m. 7 redididit Gildū p diñ hida. 7 diñ uirga. hanc possē arare v. carrucē. Inde h̄t Nicholaus indnō. i. uirga. 7 II. carē. & uillani. hñt II. cañ. Ibi h̄t Nicholaus VI. uillanos. 7 VII. bord. 7 v. seruos. 7 II. animalia. 7 lx. oues. 7 III. agros prati. 7 xx. agros pascuæ. 7 ual& p annū xxx. soł. 7 quando Nicholaus recepit ualebat tantūdē.’

filiab; capti s fraude nepotū; 'Annus m cc lxxxvi. Cōbustio domoꝝ apud St^atam Floridā.'

"3. Prognostications dependent upon the kalends of January and the several days of the week,—'Si les kalends de Jenuuer soient par dymeyne vous averet cel an : yver bon, ver ventuous, este sek, vendenges bones, herbis cresceront, miel aboundera.'

"4. A short prophecy for the year 1302.

"5. A chronicle occupying seven pages, and extending from A.D. 600 to 1298. Its nature may be somewhat apprehended from the following entries :—

'Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo Beatus Gregori⁹ episcopus misit Sanctum Augustinum minorem in Angliā.

'Anno m lxvi. Beatus Edwardus Rex Angliæ obiit anno regni sui xxiii^o. Alfredo fratre suo a comite Godwino extincto cum añ potiorum heredem non habent Willielmo dicto Bastard duci Normandie consobрино suo regnum Anglie testamento legavit. Qui Willielmus eodem anno idus Octobris in Angliā venit. Et interfecto Rege Haraldo filio dicti Godwini gravissimo prælio apud Hastings die Natalis Domini apud Westmonasterium Londoñ coronatus ē in Regem tocius Anglie. m^o lxxxi^o. edificata est Kerdivia sb Rege Witto primo.

'A^o m^o cc xviii. desponsata fuit dompna Alina filia dompni Willielmi de Brewes Johanni de Moubrey in villâ de Sweynese, etas pueri viii. añ.'

"6. On the fly-leaf, before the commencement of *Domesday*, appears 'La succession del dusche de Normandie de Richard dit Sanz peur desques a Willeame le Conquerur', the manuscript of which resembles that of *Domesday*.

"7. And a short entry about *temp.* Edward I: 'Tenementum Danielis filii Huberti infro maneꝝ de Wycham.'

"8. Then follows *Domesday*, occupying 215 leaves or 429 pages. The size of the page is twelve inches and a half by eight inches and a half, and the text occupies eight inches by four inches and a half.

"Returns are made in the following order for the counties of

' Kent	Sumersete
Sudsexe	Deveneschire
Sudereie	Cornwaille
Hanteschire	Middelsexe
Bersshire	Hertfordschire
Wilteshire	Buckinghamshire vel
Dorsete	Bokingehamshire

Oxenefordschire	Stadfordscire
Gloucestreschire	Seiropsescire
Wirecestreschire	Cestrescire
Herefordshire	Derbyscire
Grantebrigeschire vel Grante- brigeschire	Snotingehāscire
Huntindonschire vel Hunte- doneschire	Roteland
Bedefordshire	Evrewiescire
Northamtonshire	Lincollescire et Lindeseie
Ledecestreschire vel Leices- treshire	Clamores de Everwieschire in Nortreding
Warewieschire	Essex
	Nordfolke vel Nortfolc
	Sudfolke vel Sudfolc.

"9. Succeeding *Domesday* are memoranda of the pedigree and possessions of the family of *Breuse*, and of the lordship of Gower ; also of charters, etc., of the Earls of Warwick, *temp.* Edward I.

"10. Charter of King John to Willielmus de Braosa, granting the whole land of Gower. 'Les bundes de meime la terre.'

"11. 'La chartre le counte Willam de Warwik des burgeys de Sweynesse.'

"12. 'Sciendum quod primi conquestores terræ Gower fuerunt comites Warř, unde primus vocabatur Rogerus comes, cui successit Margeria soror ejus, quâ mortuâ, successit ei Henricus de Novo Burgo filius ejusdem Margeriæ, post vero mortem Henrici successit Willielmus de Bello Campo, de quo in hâc parte folii fit mencio &c.'

"13. Three pages of a poem on the sepultures of saints, commencing—

'I sunt les mervailles dites
Come par ordre sunt escrites
Ore parlerat cest escrit
Des seyns ou sunt enseveliz
En Engleterre par parties
Par les Engleis estables
Saint Alban fust li premir martir.' "

III. The Arundel *Domesday*, which is the third abridged text, is a folio volume of the twelfth century, consisting of 85 leaves of vellum. It contains the returns for only twenty-four counties, and is otherwise imperfect, by the omission of notices of payments due to the king. But it has a great value as an ancient text, and should be collated with the *Exchequer Domesday*.

The counties are taken in the same order as in the

preceding volume, but the following are wanting :—Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Derbyshire ; and after Rutlandshire follows only the *Civitas et Comitatus Eboraci*. A leaf is wanting between f. 47 and f. 48, and another between f. 77 and f. 78.

The illustrious author, Thomas Gale, has written some notes relating to the *Domesday* at the beginning of the volume, and considers this MS. to be a copy of the abridged *Exchequer Domesday*, No. 1 of this class. This MS. formerly belonged to the Abbey of Margam, in Glamorganshire. No other country in the western world, says Beaumont in his *Domesday Book of Cheshire and Lancashire*, 1882, can produce such a book as *Domesday*, a register containing the names of its landed proprietors, with their properties, tenures, laws, and customs eight hundred years ago (for next year, 1886, is the eight hundredth anniversary of its compilation), and which, remaining in perfect preservation, still forms the great mine to which the topographer, the legal antiquary, and the historian must repair for light in their various inquiries. A document so old and so venerable, and compiled in an age so unlike our own, might be expected to present many difficulties. Since it appeared, society has undergone vast changes, and very many of the terms of *Domesday* having either obtained new and different meanings, or become obsolete, have given rise to controversies which are not yet ended. Notwithstanding this drawback, however, it has an interest for the general reader either in the notices which it contains of familiar places, or of events and persons known to him by history, and in its occasional glimpses of the manners, laws, and customs prevailing among our ancestors, which time and distance have now rendered quaint and picturesque.

When the Conqueror, in whom the idea of this great national rent-roll is due, saw the achievement of his work, he regarded it as a beacon tower from which he could survey at one view, as it were, in all their length and breadth, the resources of his new kingdom, and doubtless his heart swelled with pride when he thought of their extent and of the ready means it afforded him to avail himself of them at his pleasure. But to us, to-day, the *Domesday Book* presents itself in another and nobler

light, for we have learned to look upon that Book not as a badge of bondage, but as our proudest national monument, which shows how, one by one, feudal fetters have yielded to the swelling germ of freedom innate in the English breast ; and as a landmark pointing to the place whence our ancestors started on that long and steady march which has led to the constitutional liberty that our country now so pre-eminently enjoys.

In conclusion, I would say a few words on the necessity for a new edition of the texts. Grand and comprehensive as it is, the Record edition has many weak points. The size of this edition, its great price, its want of collation and its indexes, require much revision, if it is to be brought up to the standard which Eyton has erected in the case of the *Domesday* for Dorset and Somerset, of which his so-called *Studies* (really exhaustive dissection and tabulation) are examples beyond all praise. In these days of the rapid multiplication of new societies for specialised scientific work, there is no subject that I can conceive more thoroughly national and universally attractive and interesting than the *Domesday Book* ; and if a society could be formed, *à propos* of the eight hundredth anniversary of the completion of the original *Domesday*, not only of workers who would undertake to edit and collate the texts, and prepare tabulations, dissections, indexes, glossaries, and even maps, but also of helpers who would be pleased to derive instruction from these works when published, and to foster the systematic efforts of their associates, I feel convinced that, in a few years, we should have a series of authoritative *Domesday* publications which would be a credit to the literary reputation of our country, and a perennial monument of those who have in any part aided in its production.

ON A PRAYER TO MASTER JOHN SCHORN,
FROM A MS. IN THE SLOANE COLLECTION.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P.,
SUB-DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

(Read 20th May 1885.)

SOME years ago—I think it was in the year 1867—a small pilgrim's sign, of pewter (representing Master John Schorn preaching), discovered in the mud of the Thames, was laid upon the table at one of the evening meetings of the British Archæological Association. A good deal of interest was felt in the little ornament, and I was urged by the members present to investigate the story of Master Schorn, and to lay before the Association the results of my labours. I gladly acceded to the request; made a pilgrimage to the church of North Marston; procured some of the water from the healing well; turned over a good many books; and embodied the information which I had gathered in three papers which were printed in the *Journal* of the Association.¹ I certainly did not think it likely that I should ever return to the subject, but a discovery has been made of sufficient interest to warrant me in asking once more for a few pages, in which I may exhibit to the members of the Association this last chapter in the history of the Buckinghamshire worthy. And here let me say at once that the merit of the discovery does not rest with myself. It is by the courtesy of Mr. Edward J. L. Scott, M.A., Assistant Keeper of the MSS., British Museum, that the materials of this paper have been placed in my hands. Whilst indexing the Sloane Manuscripts, Mr. Scott discovered this most interesting relic, and, with the greatest kindness, immediately communicated it to me. I print the document *literatim*.

¹ "On Master John Schorn", *Journal*, vol. xxiii, pp. 256-68; "Master John Schorn, his Church and Will at North Marston, Buckinghamshire", *Journal*, xxiii, pp. 370-78; "Master John Schorn, his Effigy in Painted Glass", *Journal*, xxv, pp. 334-44.

SLOANE MS. No. 389, Fo. 92.

A ffare prayer of Mr. John Shorne for y^e Axes.

Ave gemma curatorum
 O Johannes flos doctorum
 ...¹ de Marstonia
 Ave lux predycatorum
 Vas vertutum, via morum
 Ducens ad celestea
 Ave pater clerecorum
 Exempler presbiterorum
 In carnis mvdicia
 Ave consors angelorum
 Contemplator supernorum
 Et vincens demonen
 Ave salus infermorum
 Medycina vexatorum
 Febre[um] modestia
 Ave lumen oculorum
 Liberator languidorum
 Dencium angustia
 Ave ecum² meraculorum
 Rediviuens hos tuorum
 Profart testimonia
 Ave domnus³ puerorum
 Suscitator subversorum
 Per tua suffragia
 Ave tu⁴

 Que sunt in tristicia
 Ave dux peregrinorum
 Esto doctor⁵ viatorum
 Ad superna caudia.

V. Ora pro nobis, beate sacerdos Christi, Johannes.

R. Vt a cunctis febrebus defendat nos gracia Christi.

Oracio. Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, que a sacro Patre filio⁶
 tuoque regle⁷ vertutis verbi tui febris fugare voluisti, concede pro-
 pecius cunctis febreantibus deuotyssime sacerdotes tui Johannes⁸

¹ No mark of omission in the MS. I should like to suggest *Rector* to fill the *lacuna*.

² *Sic* in MS.

³ The word is "dñu" in MS.

⁴ The MS. shows no signs of omission here.

⁵ "Doctor". *Sic* in MS. No doubt we should read "ductor".

⁶ *Sic* in MS. It has been suggested that for "Patre filio" we ought to read "patrocinio".

⁷ It has been suggested to me that we should read "regie" for "regimine".

⁸ *Sic* in MS., for "sacerdotis tui Johannis".

memoream facientibus ut sit placitum tue pietate¹ eos amplius vexandi non habeant potestatem. Qui cum Patre et S. etc.

Iff thow be in joperdye of dethe say thes versis ffollowyng, or els ȝ^{is} worde ananizapta.

Est mala mors capta

Dum dixeris ananizapta.

Ponit dum mortem legere queret.²

Ananizapta Dei et sis medicina mea.

In nomine Domini Jhū facio hoc signum ✠ tav.

Unhappily the scribe was an illiterate person. He writes a very bad hand; uses *e* and *i* indifferently; makes important omissions without giving any sign by which the reader may take warning; writes the verses as if they were prose; and throws a good many impediments in the way of an intelligent perusal of the matter which he has transcribed. But with all these drawbacks, he has preserved for us a very complete little Office, consisting of a hymn, versicle and response, and a collect, in which the popular devotion to Master John Schorn has found expression. It is not too much to say that such local Offices are, in England, excessively rare, when the person commemorated was not canonised.

The church of North Marston still exists; the well pours forth in abundant volume its healing waters; the statue of the saint no longer adorns the church, but the "Priest's Chamber", as it is locally called, still remains over the vestry, with its opening (commanding a view of part of the existing altar), from which the shrine of Master Schorn was watched. We are now able to complete the picture. Here is the hymn sung before the shrine; here is the prayer uttered by many a pilgrim as he bowed his ague-stricken frame before the venerated image.

The Office is entitled "A ffare prayer of Mr. John Shorne for ye axes", that is, a fair prayer of (or, concerning) Mr. John Shorne for the ague. A brief biography or hagiology of our worthy might be compiled from the hymn. He was a good parish priest, *gemma curatorum*; a learned theologian, *flos doctorum*; a renowned preacher, *lux predicatorum*; a holy man, *vas virtutum*; a pattern to the clergy, *exemplar presbyterorum*; a wonder worker,

¹ Sic in MS., for "tue pietati".

² There is evidently some omission here.

vincens demonia ; an illustrious physician of the body, *salus infirmorum, medicina vexatorum* ; a restorer of sight, *lumen oculorum* ; a guide of pilgrims, *dux peregrinorum* ; endowed with many other virtues and graces, and so, *ductor viatorum ad superna gaudia*. What can North Marston wish for more ? The language of panegyric can no further go. They should petition the College of Cardinals for the immediate canonisation of their excellent rector. Does anyone venture to doubt ? The healing spring remains to this very day.

There lies before me as I write an account of the "Fourth Annual Commemoration of Schorne College, Buckinghamshire, situated in the village of North Marston, near Winslow", in which the speech of the Rev. S. B. James, the warden of the college, is fully reported. I read in it, with great interest, the following words :— "Five years of remarkable freedom from illness have been granted to us. I do not forget that young lives are passed here in an exceptionally long-lived parish, with a holy well of some of the most tonic and health-preserving water in England, with pure air, and as regards the college, on a vein of gravel, which all tells in the same direction ; but I would rather, if without presumption I might do so, feel indebted to God's good guardianship."¹ The college is named after the Marston worthy, and the final toast at the luncheon was "Floreat semper Schorne". So that the memory of the old rector is still kept green. It is very fitting that the "Dominus puerorum" should be honoured by the association of his name with a college. Probably this is the best canonisation that he could receive.

I cannot refrain from adding to this memoir a few interesting particulars derived from a paper read by the Rev. Canon Scott Robertson, and printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xi, p. 61.

"About the year 1480 Bishop Beaufort, Dean of Windsor, removed his shrine [that of Master John Schorne], by papal licence, from North Marston to the south aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where it yielded as much as £500 a year to the collegiate body.

"In Kent there were several places at which especial

¹ Reprinted from *The Bucks Herald* of July 23, 1881.

reverence was paid to Master John Schorne. To Halstow, for instance, pilgrimages were made in his honour, as I learn from a will in the registry of Canterbury. It is that of Rest Redfyn, widow of Nicholas Redfyn of Queenborough, and is dated May 26th, 1505. It contains this clause :

‘ Also I will the same William Berd fulfil all my pilgrimages.

First to the Rode of grace, a woman of wax.

To Mr. John Shorne, in the parish of Halstowe, jd.

Item to Saynt Robert, *ob.*

Item to Saynt Thomas in Harteigh, a harte of wax.’

This probably refers to Lower Halstow, in which parish there is a field which still derives its name from a well, as does a field and lane in the adjacent parish of Upchurch. Master John Schorne’s remedy for ague seems to have been the water of such wells as he had blessed, to which the sufferers made pilgrimages.”

To this interesting passage Canon Scott Robertson appends a note, in which he says that offerings of *wax* were very common. The “woman of wax” would be a little wax figure of the Virgin. It was to be given to the Rood of Grace at Boxley Abbey. The “harte of wax” would be a small waxen image of a hart or stag, having reference to the name of Harteigh or Harty. In the *Travels of Nicander Nucius* (Camden Society, p. 106, notes), mention is made of Sir John Shorne and of the Rood of Grace.

I am indebted to the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck for the discovery of another painting of Sir John. This time we find him not in the eastern counties, but in the far west. A painting on the rood screen at Woolborough Church, Devon, commemorates our worthy. Are we to suppose that some grateful patient, restored to health by the bright waters of the Marston Well, carried with him to his home in Devonshire so vivid a recollection of its virtues, as to present a picture of Sir John to his own parish church? Or are we to suppose that the *cultus* of the rector of North Marston had spread so widely that the good Devonians sang his praises?

ON RECENT DISCOVERIES OF PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURED STONES.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

THE following paper contains notices of some hitherto undescribed sculptured stones of the pre-Norman period preserved in the churches of All Saints, Rockland, Norfolk; Colsterworth, Lincolnshire; and Bexhill, Sussex. Drawings, or rubbings, of these stones have been exhibited at previous meetings of the Association, but I have since had opportunities of visiting two of the localities, and by the courtesy of the rectors of the churches where the stones were found, I am now able to give fuller particulars about the discoveries. In describing these stones the term pre-Norman has been chosen as being the only one which is scientifically correct. At one time crosses with interlaced work were miscalled Runic monuments, because some of them bore Runic inscriptions; but it is hardly necessary to point out that the word Runic is only applicable to a particular form of Scandinavian letter. It is also incorrect to describe such stones as being Saxon or Danish; and to call them Celtic, except in Ireland, Scotland, Cornwall, and Wales, only expresses a half truth. The art of the pre-Norman sculptured stones of Great Britain is Christian, and originated in Ireland, spreading thence, with the diffusion of the new religion, to Scotland, Wales, and England, but it was greatly modified according to the locality where it took root. Thus, in the Isle of Man and parts of Cumberland, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, the Celtic element is largely mixed with the Danish, and the term Celto-Scandinavian is most applicable. In the south of England, again, the Saxon element predominates, and the term Hiberno-Saxon may be used. The different styles can easily be distinguished by the peculiarities of the ornamental features. In purely Irish art the geometrical ornament consists of three separate kinds, namely, spiralwork, key patterns, and interlaced work. Of these, the spiralwork

is the most typically Celtic, and is copied from the British metalwork of pre-Christian times; the spiral, with expanded trumpet-shaped ends, being unknown outside the Celtic area. Spiralwork is found only on sculptured stones in Ireland and Scotland, and in a few of the MSS. executed in England and by Irish monks abroad.

Key patterns occur on stones in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the north of England. Interlaced work is found on stones throughout the whole of Great Britain. It is thus possible to determine the locality from which a stone comes, by the predominance of any one of the three specified forms of geometrical ornament. In Wales and the south of England interlaced work predominates; in the north of England interlaced work and key patterns are found in combination; and in Scotland and Ireland interlaced work, key patterns, and spirals are blended together in about equal proportions. The Northumbrian stones are characterised by scrolls of foliage of great beauty. On the Scandinavian stones are found scaly dragons and Runic inscriptions, also patterns formed of interlaced rings. On the stones showing Saxon influence the interlaced work is badly executed; and in Wales this is also sometimes the case.

The crosses of Ireland have been illustrated by H. O'Neill; those of Scotland by Dr. Stuart; those of Wales by Prof. Westwood; and those of the Isle of Man by the Rev. J. G. Cumming. England alone possesses no work of the kind. The amount of material which exists for a book on the sculptured stones of England may be judged from the fact that there are at least 180 localities where monuments of date previous to the Norman Conquest exist. The MSS. of this period, which are much fewer in number, are preserved with the utmost care, and are considered to be of inestimable value; but as yet the sculptured stones have never received justice, either by having casts of them deposited in our public museums, or by being photographed or protected in any way at the public expense. It is gratifying, therefore, to think that so much has already been done by this Association to bring the matter forward, and to preserve records of at least some of these most interesting memorials in our *Journal*. In each country there are a

few examples remaining of so-called Saxon churches, but with a few exceptions it is very doubtful whether any of them are older than the beginning of the eleventh century. Several of the crosses with interlaced work, however, are possibly as old as the eighth century; and the finding of the smallest fragment even of such stones is an indisputable proof of the existence of an early Christian church on that site. A mere list of localities where pre-Norman stones exist is in itself as good as the *Domesday Book Survey*, so far as churches are concerned. Such a list I have prepared, and hope to see published in the *Journal* eventually.

The Rev. G. F. Browne of Cambridge, who recently read a valuable paper on the Leeds cross before this Association, has impressed upon the University Press syndicate the importance of bringing out a work on the pre-Norman sculptured stones of England, and he is in hopes of being able to carry out the project under their auspices. In the meantime he is accumulating materials for the work, and will shortly issue a volume on the stones of Derbyshire as a commencement. It is to be hoped that archæologists throughout England will give their support to the undertaking.

Coffin-lid at All Saints, Rockland, Norfolk.—The particulars from which the following account has been compiled, together with a drawing of the coffin-lid, have been placed at my disposal through the courtesy of the Rev. A. B. Hemsworth, rector of All Saints with St. Andrew's, Rockland, and it is to his care that the preservation of this interesting relic is due. The village of Rockland is situated in the southern portion of the county of Norfolk, four miles west of Attleborough railway station. In *Domesday Book*, Rockland, or Rokelhunt, as it is there spelt, is described as belonging to Eudo, the Dapifer of Edward the Confessor,¹ and the Rev. A. B. Hemsworth suggests that the stone now under consideration may possibly be the sepulchral monument of Eudo.

Rockland was, in olden time, a place of special importance, having three churches, namely, those of St. Andrew, All Saints, and St. Peter, within its limits, and

¹ *Domesday Book*, published at Southampton by the Ordnance Survey. Part relating to Norfolk, p. cclxii.

thirty other rectors and vicars under its jurisdiction. The rector of this place bore in consequence the title of Dean Rockland. Formerly St. Andrew's parish was styled Rockland Toft.¹ The termination "toft" is distinctively Danish, and signifies a homestead or enclosure.² It occurs frequently in East Anglia, as at Fishtoft, Wigtoft, and Brothentoft near Boston in Lincolnshire, and at Toft Trees in Norfolk. The Rev. A. B. Hemsworth says, "Some thirty years ago I wrote to *Notes and Queries* (I think, 2nd Series, vol. vii) a short account of the custom of 'Bough Houses' at the Guild on May 16th. The Guild, the Mayor, etc., still flourish, but the 'Bough Houses' have become obsolete. Also, I pay a mark a year to parties who bought that rent-charge from the Dukes of Norfolk. I believe the original purpose was for the escort of pilgrims and packmen to the Guild, and to the shrine of our Lady at Walsingham. I have never seen the escort, nor the pilgrims, but have paid the mark for some thirty years.

"Rockland. All Saints' Church has an Anglo-Saxon nave, without any windows on the north side. The walls are about 14 feet high, 4 feet thick at the base, and 3 feet at the wall-plate, with herring-bone work and long and short work at the quoins. On the south side is a porch. The tower is massive, and of the fourteenth century. The chancel has on the south side an old two-light window, and also a quatrefoil circular window, through which the altar can be seen from the churchyard. The whole of the roof of the nave and chancel was wrecked in a furious gale on Feb. 28th, 1860, the pulpit and other fittings being also smashed. I repaired the building in that and subsequent years. In replacing the pavement at the porch door, about 18 inches beneath the surface, I discovered the upper half of the pre-Norman stone, and also the dedication stone of St. Andrew's Church, which is now in ruins and lies about 100 yards to the east. The second half of the stone was discovered on the south side of the tower, when the circumjacent soil, which had accumulated round the whole church, was removed. I had the two

¹ Blomfield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. i, p. 473.

² Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places*, p. 165.

portions of the stone placed together in the centre of the floor of the chancel, where it now lies, as shown in the accompanying drawing."

The slab measures 5 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, and is 1 ft. 9 ins. wide at one end, tapering to 1 ft. 3 ins. at the other. The thickness is 5 ins. at the centre, sloping away to 4 ins. at the sides. The ornamental features consist of crosses at each end, connected by a band 2 ins. broad, running up the centre of the slab, this portion of the sculpture being in relief above the rest of the slab. On each side of the central band are two panels of plait-work, but the carving of one panel has been partially defaced by a modern inscription, consisting of the letters I M. The crosses are circular, with expanded ends, the diameter of the larger one being 1 ft. 3 ins., and that of the smaller $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

The letters I M were cut upon one-half of the stone, when it was used at the grave of a certain J. Mansfield, being set upright with the big cross buried. The remaining portion was set up at the grave of another member of the same family, probably during the time of the late rector. The stone appears to be of coarse strong sandstone. From its size and shape it may have been used as the lid of a stone coffin, although I believe there is no conclusive evidence that this was the case. Other examples of early cross slabs have been found from time to time in the eastern counties of England. Those which most resemble the Rockland slab were discovered under the original ramparts of Cambridge Castle, when it was destroyed in the year 1810. Five whole slabs and two broken ones are engraved in the *Archæologia*,¹ and a sixth slab, found subsequently, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is given in the *Journal of the British Archæological Institute*.² One of these slabs is almost identical in design with that found at Rockland. At the same time that the slabs were dug up at Cambridge, several headstones with plain crosses upon them, two stone coffins, and the head of a cross with interlaced work,³ were also discovered. Cambridge

¹ Vol. xxvii, p. 228.

² Vol. xii, p. 201.

³ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 70. The head of the cross is now in the Architectural Museum, Tufon Street, Westminster.

Castle was built by William the Conqueror, which fact throws some light on the date of these stones. Mr. Albert Way considered them to be of the tenth century, and they may be even older. Other early cross slabs exist at Howell,¹ Hackthorn,² and Lincoln Cathedral³ in Lincolnshire; at Kirby Hill⁴ and at St. Mary Bishophill Senior,⁵ York, in Yorkshire; and at Alvaston⁶ in Derbyshire.

Fragment of Cross-shaft in Colsterworth Church, Lincolnshire.—The Rev. John Mirehouse, rector of Colsterworth, has been kind enough to furnish me with most of the information which is embodied in the following description. Colsterworth is situated on the east side of the valley of the river Witham, eight miles south of Grantham. It is mentioned in *Domesday Book*, being there spelt Colstewrde. Nothing is said about the church; but it is stated that Earl Morcar and the Queen's Thane owned land in the district.⁷ The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The arches on the south side of the nave are Anglo-Norman.⁸ In the arcade of the north side of the nave is a very perfect piece of herring-bone work. There are inserted in the wall three earthenware pots, supposed by some archæologists to be used for acoustic purposes. The Rev. J. Mirehouse, however, takes the view that they are simply intended for put-log holes. An interesting feature connected with the church is the gradual rise in the floor, which is effected by means of a continuous slope, and not by the use of steps. Sir Isaac Newton was born in Colsterworth on Christmas Day, 1642, and baptised in this church on the following 1st of January. In the Register is entered "Isaac, sonne of Isaac and Hanna Newton, Jan. 1", and it is fortunate that this entry exists, for the registers from 1642 to 1661 are not forthcoming, and were probably never taken. The

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Inst.*, xxvii, p. 196; vi, p. 400.

² *Idem.*

³ In the cloisters.

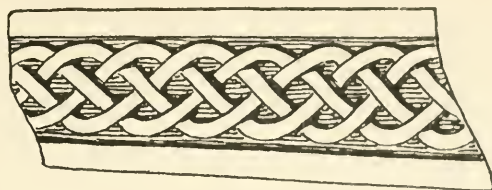
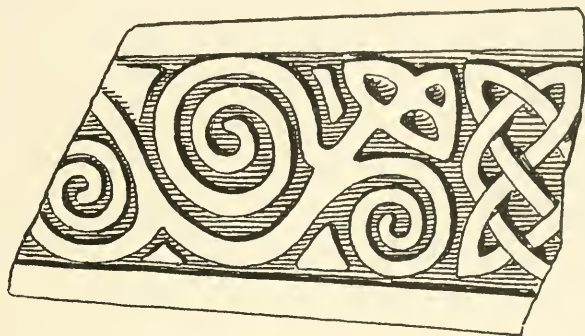
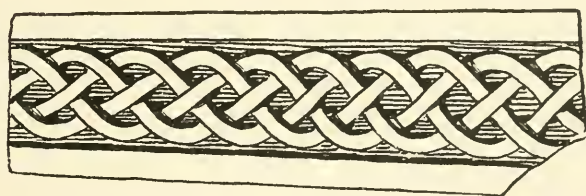
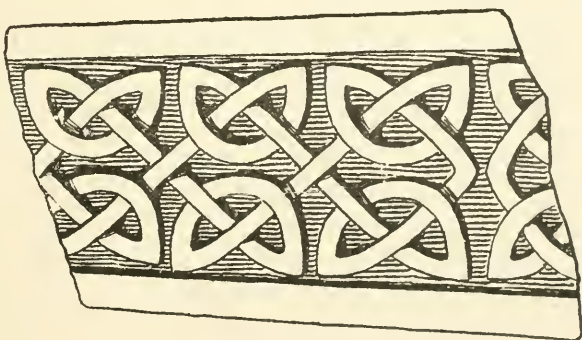
⁴ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 241.

⁵ Built into the church porch.

⁶ Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, iv, p. 140.

⁷ *Domesday Book*, Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire, by C. G. Smith.

⁸ J. Saunders' *History of Co. of Lincoln*, i, p. 310.



FRAGMENTARY CROSS AT COLSTERWORTH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

original font now forms the pillar which supports a bowl of modern workmanship, corresponding in design with the old one. The new part took the place of a bowl of late Decorated style (which was cracked) when the church was recently restored, and the Rev. J. Mirehouse informs me that he took a good deal of pains to get suitable carving. The original font is 1 ft. 4 ins. in height each side being $11\frac{1}{4}$ ins. broad. The style is Transitional Norman. Three of the sides are ornamented with early English foliage within intersecting arcades; one side has similar foliage within a round arch; two sides have sculptures of the Agnus Dei, and a head, perhaps that of Christ, within a vesica; the two remaining sides have been entirely renewed.

There is a sundial built into one of the inside walls of the church, with regard to which the Rev. J. Mirehouse says: "I have not the slightest doubt it was Newton's work. Sir William Earle offered to have a copy taken from the one belonging to the Royal Society, which was taken from the Manor House at Woolsthorpe; and I found the one now in the church in the wall of the house myself, a coal-shed having been built on to that corner. I thought it better to have an original than a copy of a larger one."

The two stones with interlaced work upon them were found during the restoration of the church, buried in the wall underneath the aumbry, beneath the entrance to the rood-loft. This part of the wall has herring-bone work, and belonged to the original church. It is unfortunate that the discovery was made during the absence of the Rev. J. Mirehouse, as he believes that the remaining portions of the cross may still be embedded in the wall. However, he hopes to make a search for the rest at some future time. One of the stones is too mutilated to be able to say with certainty what it formed part of. It measures 1 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins., and is 6 ins. thick. The pattern on it is a looped twist,¹ which also occurs upon the cross at Leeds. The other stone is portion of the shaft of a cross. It measures 2 ft. 2 ins. long, and is 1 ft. 5 ins. by 10 ins. at the base, tapering to 1 ft. 3 ins.

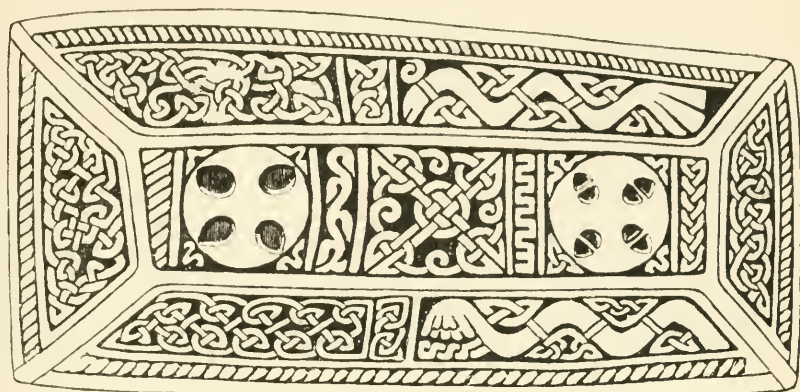
¹ See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 232, fig. 12.

by 8 ins. at the top. The pattern on the front consists of knotwork, No. 87 in my classified list of interlaced ornament,¹ which occurs at Jordan Hill, Kirriemuir, Jedburgh, Scoonie, and Inchbrayock, in Scotland; Jarrow, Aycliffe, Stainton-le-Street, Billingham, and Yarm, in England; Landough in Wales; and Termonfechin in Ireland. The back has scrolls of foliage such as are peculiar to the stones of the Northumbrian area, and occur at Ilkley and elsewhere. On the two edges are simple plaits of four bands.

The accompanying drawing was prepared from a rubbing and sketches taken on the spot.

Coped Stone in Bexhill Church, Sussex.—Bexhill is situated two miles west of St. Leonard's, near the coast. The Rev. L. S. Clarke, Rector of Bexhill, has been good enough to send me the following account of the discovery of the pre-Norman stone in his church:—"The Saxon stone coffin-lid now embedded in the south wall of the tower of Bexhill Church was found during the restoration which took place in the year 1878. It was lying about 6 inches under the earth, in the nave, very near to the first Norman pier of the south arcade. It was by itself, no coffin being visible, and I did not like to disturb the ground unnecessarily. The old seats had covered the ground where it was found, and I had it placed in the wall of the tower, in the recess of a Norman arch, for its more safe protection. It is evidently, from its size, a child's coffin-lid. I sent a rubbing of it to Mr. A. W. Franks of the British Museum, at the time of its discovery, and he pronounced it to be Saxon, not later than the eighth century. Some light seemed to me to be thrown on it by the place where it was found, owing to a curious discovery I made when the plaster was removed from the walls. The two western bays are Norman work; but over the four Norman arches runs a line of loose work between them and the wall above. That wall I found to be very hard and strong, and it was evident that the Norman builder had cut away the wall, and erected his arches under the superstructure of the old Saxon wall, and just filled in the slight interval with loose rubble. There was a good deal of rough, herring-

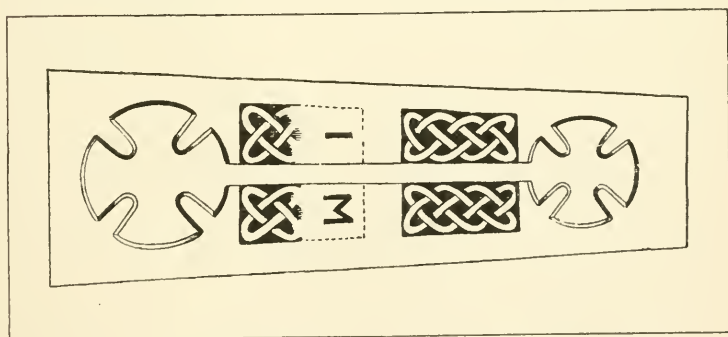
¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 243.



BEXHILL ♦ SUSSEX

SEPULCHRAL SLABS

ROCKLAND ♦ NORFOLK





bone work in the walls. My idea is that the Saxon church was a simple parallelogram, the remains of the foundations of which were found between the arches; and that when the Norman builder was preparing for his pier he moved the coffin-lid, which was near the wall, and possibly in the way of his pier. As to the origin of the sculptured coffin-lid, the only conjecture I can make is that possibly when Wilfrid came to Sussex he may have brought some northern follower with him, and that this stone may have been wrought by him."

Bexhill is mentioned in *Domesday Book* as follows:—"Osbern holds Bexelei from the Earl (John of Eu or Angi). Bishop Alric held it of King Edward until King William gave the Castle of Hastings to the Earl. Here are three churches. The Abbot of Ultresport holds three hides."¹

"Before the Conquest, Bexelei was held by the Bishop of Selsey; afterwards Osbern held it of the Earl of Eu; but it was ultimately restored to the Bishop of Chichester in 1148. The church is dedicated to St. Peter. In Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* is a representation of a two-light window taken out of Bexhill Church."² St. Richard de la Wyche, thirteenth Bishop of Chichester, resided and died at Bexhill.³

In Mr. W. de Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (p. 294, No. 208) is a grant for life by Offa, King of the Angles, to Osuuald, Bishop (of Chichester), of land at Bixlea or Bexhill, co. Sussex, with reversion to the see of Chichester (Selsey), dated the 15th of August, A.D. 772, and runs as follows:—"Ego Offa Rex Anglorum pro remedio animee mee, et pro Dei amore aliquam partem terre Sudsex' sicut ante promisi omnipotenti Deo venerando episcopo Osuualdo ad construendum in ea monasterium basilicamque augendam que divinis laudibus et sanctorum honoribus servire videatur, in perpetuam attribuo possessionem, id est VIII cassatos in loco qui appellatur Bixlea, sicut meta prenotatum est." Signed by Offa, King of Mercia; Ecbert, King of Kent; Jaenberht, Arch-

¹ *Domesday Book*, Counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, by S. Henshall, p. 125.

² W. A. Lower's *History of Sussex*, p. 48.

³ Horsfield's *History of Sussex*, p. 428.

bishop; Cyneulf, King of the South Saxons; Eadberht and Osuald, Bishops, etc.

The sculptured stone found at Bexhill is of a fine grained white sandstone, and measures 2 ft. 9 ins. long, being 1 ft. 3 ins. wide at one end, and 1 ft. 1 in. wide at the other. The shape is that of a truncated pyramid with four sides. In the centre is an approximately rectangular surface, 2 ft. long by 6 ins. wide, from which the four sides slope away. This portion is about 3 ins. above the edges of the stone. A bold roll-moulding or beading runs round the central portion, and down the four edges formed by the meeting of the faces. The ornament is arranged in panels separated by flat bands, and a cable-moulding surrounds the whole. The decoration of the flat, rectangular part consists of a circular cross at each end, and a square panel of knotwork divided diagonally into four triangles in the middle. Separating these, and at the two ends, are four narrow bands of ornament:—(1), a sort of cable-pattern formed by parallel, diagonal strokes; (2), a small sprig of conventional foliage; (3), a simple key-pattern; (4), a plaited border. The two sloping faces at each end are filled in with interlaced work. The two sloping faces at each side are broken up into three panels, one containing a broad mass of knotwork, then a narrow band of interlaced work, and at the bottom a conventional dragon or serpent intertwined with knotted bands.

The square of interlaced work in the middle of the flat rectangular part of the stone belongs to a class of patterns which occurs frequently on sculptured stones in Scotland, and in one or two early MSS. in the British Museum, but elsewhere they are unknown. This would tend to show that the stone was the work of a northern artist. The peculiarity of the pattern is in dividing a square diagonally into four triangles, each of which is filled in with a similar piece of knotwork. In my classified list of interlaced pattern, previously referred to, I have given fifteen different varieties of this ornament, all of which occur in Scotland.¹ I only know of two instances of their being found in England, namely, at Yarm in Yorkshire,² and at Bexhill.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 262.

² *Journal of the Yorkshire Archaeological Association.*

The MSS. in which I have found these patterns are an English Psalter in the British Museum, of the eighth century (Vesp. A. i), and in a French copy of the Gospels in the same Library (Harl. 2,788).

The interlaced work of the sloping sides and ends is not nearly so well executed as the rest, and the way in which the bands cross under and over is irregular. In purely Celtic interlaced work the bands go under and over each other with unerring precision, and mistakes hardly ever occur. In Saxon interlaced work, on the contrary, no special attention seems to have been paid to the geometrical accuracy of the design, the artist being quite content if he could produce the effect of interlaced work without the trouble of attending to the minute details of the ornamentation.

It is probable, therefore, that the art of the Bexhill stone belongs to the Hiberno-Saxon school. The amount of ornament lavished on so small a surface is quite unknown anywhere else except in Scotland and Ireland, and the small scale on which the whole design is carried out is most peculiar. The shape of the stone is also quite unique, and I do not hesitate to say that this is by far the most interesting monument of its kind in the south of England.

The drawing now exhibited was prepared partly by aid of an admirable photograph taken by Mr. A. Pettitt of Keswick, and partly from a rubbing.

THE OLD TRADERS' SIGNS IN PATERNOSTER ROW.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Read 4 March 1885.*)

SOMEWHAT like the unearthing a Pompeii is the recovery from the ashes of bygone ages the titles of the signs employed by the old London traders, and as the gold-digger may continue his weary toil day after day before he finds the coveted nugget, so may the sign-seeker long expend his time before he lights on the object of his search. Long and toilsome has been the hunt after the signs of the old dwellers in Paternoster Row, and, after all, the hunt has yielded but meagre results; but such as they are they are here presented. But before proceeding to the signs let us take a brief glance at the locality where they were once displayed, and gather all we can respecting it from the pages of honest John Stow, and of his worthy continuator, John Strype. Towards the close of his description of Farringdon Ward, Stow thus speaks in his *Survey* (p. 126) of Paternoster Row:—“The houses in this street, from the first north gate of Paule’s churchyard unto the next gate, was first built without the wall of the churchyard by Henry Walles, mayor in the year 1282. The rents of those houses go to the maintenance of London Bridge. This street is now called Pater Noster Row, because of stationers or text-writers that dwelt there, who wrote and sold all sorts of Books then in use, namely A. B. C., with the Pater-Noster, Ave, Creed, Graces, etc. There dwelt also turners of Beads, and they were called Pater-Noster Makers, as I read in a record of one Robert Nikke, Pater-Noster Maker and Citizen, in the reign of Henry IV, and so of others.”

Strype (bk. iii, p. 195) is more diffuse respecting this locality than Stow. He says: “This street, before the Fire of London, was taken up by eminent mercers, silkmen, and laccmen; and their shops were so resorted unto

by the nobility and gentry in their coaches, that oftentimes the street was so stopped up that there was no passage for foot passengers. But since the said fire, those eminent tradesmen have settled themselves in several other parts, especially in Covent Garden, in Bedford Street, Henrietta Street, and King Street. And the inhabitants in this street are now (1720) a mixture of trades people, and chiefly tire-women, for the sale of commodoes, top-knots, and the like dressings for the females. There are also many shops of mercers and silkmen; and at the upper end some stationers, and large warehouses for booksellers, well situated for learned and studious men's access thither, being more retired and private."

Having viewed Paternoster Row as unfolded to us by the pens of Stow and Strype, let us now proceed to consider the few signs of its traders that are preserved to us in the title-pages of books, old tokens, shop-bills, and such-like relics of the past.

The Bible was the sign of Christopher Bateman, one of the booksellers for whom, in 1699, was printed Monsieur de la Bruyere's *Characters or the Manners of the Age*.

The Bible and Crown, that good old sign, may still be seen let into the string course above the window of the shop of Messrs. Rivington.

The Black Boy. At this sign lived, in 1553, Henry Sutton, one of London's early printers. He had a shop with the same sign in St. Paul's Churchyard. So late as the reign of Queen Anne we find *The Black Boy* holding his place as a sign in Paternoster Row. Here is a copy of an advertisement which appeared in the *Daily Courant* of Aug. 9th, 1711: "Just published: A full account of the Life and Visions of Nicholas Hart, who has every year in his life past, on the 5th of August, fall'n into a deep sleep, and cannot be awaked till five days and nights are expired; and then gives a surprising relation of what he hath seen in the other world. Taken from his own mouth in September last, after he had slept five days in St. Bartholomew's Hospital the August before, By William Hill, of Lincoln's Inn. The truth of all which the said Nicholas Hart hath attested, under his hand, the 3rd day of August 1711, before several credible witnesses, and declared his readiness to take oath of the

same. He began to sleepe as usual the 5th day of this instant, August 1711, at Mr. Dixies, at *The Cock and Bottle* in Little Britain. Entered according to law. Printed for J. Baker at *The Black Boy*, in Paternoster Row, price 2d." If this was the same *Black Boy* who was thriving in the middle of the sixteenth century he was a pretty old child when the foregoing advertisement was issued.

The Buck was the sign of John Buckland, bookseller, who, among others, was the publisher, in 1751, of Mortemer's *Life of Pyrrhus, King of Epire*.

The Castle Tavern, the site of which is now occupied by *Dolly's Chop House*, was once owned by Dick Tarlton, the famous stage-clown in the reign of Elizabeth. He died Sept. 1588. Gough, another host of *The Castle*, died Dec. 16th, 1648. His successor, whose name began with a B, issued tokens bearing a castle in the field, surrounded by the legend—THE CASTELL TAVERN; *rev.*, IN PATERNOSTER ROW. In the field I.D.B. *The Castle Tavern* was consumed in the Great Fire of Sept. 1666, but was rebuilt in a stately style, and became a music-house of celebrity. In the eighteenth century a family named Young held their concerts at this house, and we shall again meet them when we arrive at *The Queen's Head Tavern*. From some cause the fame of *The Castle* declined, and in 1770 a portion of it had become the Oxford Bible warehouse, another part being occupied by a furniture auctioneer named Upton. In this year the whole building was destroyed by fire, together with surrounding establishments, and in April 1771 the freehold ground on which *The Castle* and the three other consumed houses stood was offered for sale on building lease.

The Chapter Coffee House, like other establishments of its kind, issued tokens in the seventeenth century, not, however, of metal, but of gilded leather. They consisted of groats and half-groats, which were duly distinguished by the figures 4 and 2. In the field of the *ob.* is a mitre; the legend CHAPTER COFFEE HOVSE; *rev.* blank; legend, STRVCK ON LEATHER. In *The Connoisseur*, No. 1, Jan. 31st, 1754, *The Chapter Coffee House* is spoken of as a favourite meeting-place for booksellers and the *literati*.

Dolly's Chop House, as already noted, stands on a por-

tion of the site of the old *Castle Tavern*. Its fame dates from about the middle of the eighteenth century. In *The Connoisseur* for June 6th, 1754, No. 19, we read: "At Dolly's and Horseman's, you commonly see the hearty lovers of a beef-steak and gill-ale." In Evans's *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*, vol. ii, p. 125, we find: "Dolly, of the Queen's Head Chop House, Newgate Street." Is this the lady who gave title to the Paternoster Row establishment?

Dryden's Head was to be seen in 1761 as a sign at the door of H. Payne and Crossley, booksellers.

The Globe, in the reign of George II, was the sign of a bookseller's shop kept by T. Cooper. Here, in 1740, was to be bought *The Universal Pocket-Book*. *The whole designed for the use, benefit, and convenience of all sorts of persons.*

The Golden Ball was the sign of J. Osborn, who in 1737 published Reading's *History of Christ, with the lives of the Apostles and Evangelists*. Osborn was the printer of one of the earliest *London Directories* that issued from the press. After Osborn had disappeared from the scene we find *The Fifteen Comforts of Matrimony, with an addition of three Comforts more*. Printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the *Golden Ball* in Paternoster Row, 1760.

The Minister's Gown was probably the sign of a clerical warehouse, where robes might be had.

Our Lady of Pity (in other words, the Virgin Mary) was the sign, in 1542, of Johan Redman, bookseller.

Pope's Head (not that of a Roman Pontiff, but of the renowned Poet) was a favourite sign with the booksellers of the last century. In the *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1770, mention is made of such a sign in Paternoster Row, painted by an eminent artist, whose name, however, is not given.

The Queen's Head was a very early sign in Paternoster Row. In this house, until the reign of Elizabeth, were lodged the canonists and professors of spiritual and ecclesiastical law, who were then removed to Doctors' Commons. At *The Queen's Head Tavern* in the eighteenth century, the Young family were wont to give their concerts, which drew much company to the house. The

proximate site of the old establishment is pointed out by Queen's Head Alley.

The Raven was at times called *The Black Raven*. In 1707, *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown, in Prose and Verse*, were "sold by B. Bragg, at *The Raven*, in Pater-noster Row". By the year 1711, S. Popping had succeeded to the sign and bookseller's business.

The Red Lion. At this sign lived A. Bettesworth, one of the booksellers for whom, in 1724, was printed Hawkins' edition of *Cocker's English Dictionary*; and in 1726, he, with others, published Clarke's translation of *Cornelius Nepos' Lives*. *The History of the Tales of the Fairies, dedicated to the Ladies of Great Britain, with Cuts suitable to each Tale*, was "printed for C. Hitch and L. Hawes, at *The Red Lyon*, in Pater-noster Row, 1758." In 1771, Messrs. L. Hawes, W. Clark, and R. Collins had succeeded to *The Red Lion*, and were the publishers of several educational books by John Holmes, formerly Master of the Public Grammar School, in Holt, Norfolk.

The Rose, during the reign of George II, was the sign of Richard Baldwin, for whom was printed, in 1752, Salmon's *Universal Traveller: or, a compleat Description of the several Nations of the World*. And in the same year he published Cowdry's *Description of Wilton House*.

Shakespear's Head was the sign of No. 17, Paternoster Row, a bookseller's shop occupied by J. Cooke, for whom, in 1771, was printed Nathaniel Spencer's *Complete English Traveller*.

The Ship and Black Swan was the sign of Thomas Longman, the founder of the house, who died June 18, 1755. He commenced business in the reign of George I, one of his earliest publications being an edition of Rowe's *Dramatic Works*, 2 vols. 12mo., 1725. In 1730, Dr. Quincy's *English Dispensatory* was "printed for J. Osborn and T. Longman, at *The Ship* in Pater-noster Row." Are we to infer from this statement that Osborn and Longman were then in partnership, and that *The Black Swan* had ceased to be the figure-head of *The Ship*? We have already seen that a J. Osborn held *The Golden Ball* in 1737.

The Star. In 1564, Henry Denham, printer, was living at this sign, around which was the motto, "os

HOMINI SUBLIME DEDIT," which is to be seen at the end of some of his books. In 1567 he obtained the privilege of printing the New Testament in the Welsh language. By the year 1586, Denham had removed from Paternoster Row to Aldersgate Street, but still displayed the old *Star* as his sign.

The Talbot, in 1606, was the sign of Thos. Man, bookseller.

The Tiger's Head was the sign, in 1555, of Christopher and Robt. Barker, the Queen's printers, who had also a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard with the sign of *The Grasshopper*.

The Unicorn and Bible was the sign of John Harrison, printer, in 1603.

Though the foundation of Paternoster Row was laid as far back as the year 1282, it is not till we reach the sixteenth century that we find any record of the signs therein adopted. During the latter period printers and booksellers began to occupy this emporium of literature, as is attested by the names of Johan Redman at *Our Lady of Pity*, Henry Sutton at *The Black Boy*, the Barkers at *The Tiger's Head*, and Henry Denham at *The Star*. And to this list may be added Thomas Orwin, who from 1587 to 1597 here practised the art of printing, but under what sign we know not. There are other and later traders than Orwin about whose signs we cannot fail to feel an interest, but the titles of which are hidden in obscurity. At what sign lived that vile woman, Anne Turner, who assisted in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, for which crime she was executed at Tyburn, Nov. 14th, 1615, decked in a ruff of cobweb-lawn, stiffened with yellow starch, of which she was the inventress? Gladly, too, would we learn the sign of the shop where, on Nov. 21st, 1660, good Master Samuel Pepys "bought some green watered Moyre for a Morning Waistcoat"; and where, on May 17th, 1662, he went with my Lady Sandwich to purchase a plain satin petticoat. Much is there about this renowned locality and its old inhabitants and their quaint old signs that memory loves to dwell on, but our story must now be closed, and its feeble outline left for other and abler hands to fill in its details, with all their varied lights and shadows. The task is worthy of the labour, for the story of Paternoster Row is one in which the history of our national literature is deeply and indelibly inwoven.

DOVER CASTLE CHURCH.

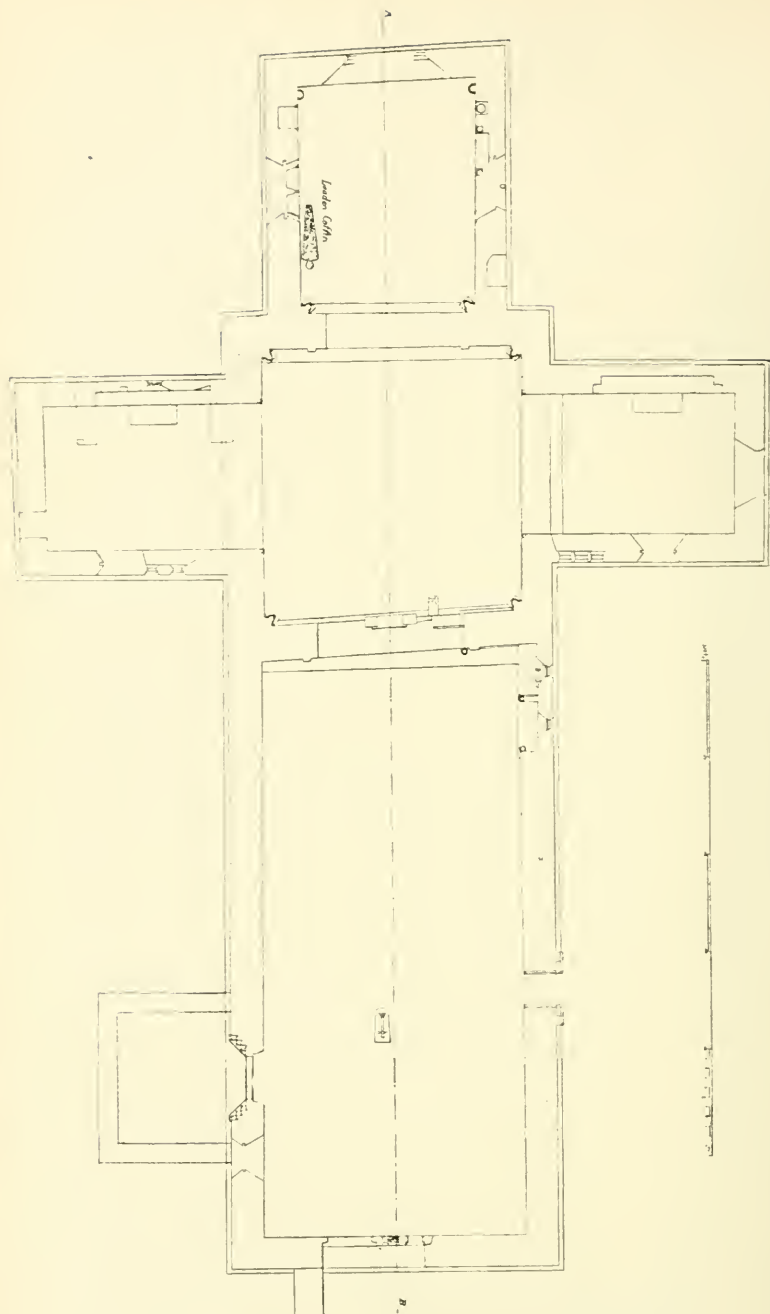
BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

THE visit of the British Archæological Association to Dover cannot fail to render its members acquainted with that ancient and interesting church inside the walls of the Castle. Some writers on its history have not hesitated to assign its foundation to an antiquity which, when tested by the internal evidence of the existing building, is far beyond what the same will justify. To this evidence I desire very briefly to draw the notice of our members.

Of the alterations taking rise in late Norman times, or periods more recent, it becomes unnecessary to say anything, the late Sir G. G. Scott, after repairing its ruined walls, and refitting it for divine service (by order of the War Office authorities), having described these in a paper printed in vol. v of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. "Kentish men" gifted with antiquarian instincts, have so strong a prepossession for attributing to Roman times every fragment of early ecclesiastical building, wherein may be discoverable the use or retention, in an *orderly* manner, of *reused* Roman materials (so abundantly found all over Kent), that they will scarcely allow or even listen to any statement of doubt on such a subject. Nor most likely from them, after this, shall I escape the same sharp treatment administered once before, when, in bringing under the notice of the members of the British Archæological Association some notes and sketches of the ruined choir-walls of the church of Stone-juxta-Faversham,¹ it became necessary to transfer it likewise from the same favoured but vague Roman period to the more prosaic one of a late Saxon age. My then experience enables me thoroughly to understand the feelings moving my dear old master, when, in his above mentioned paper on this Castle church, he writes: "I now know that there is no Saxon period early enough to satisfy the cravings of some of the investigators of its history; and that after attributing it to the

¹ See *Journal*, September 1875.





GROUND PLAN OF THE SAXON CHURCH IN DOVER CASTLE, KENT.



age of Ethelbert, they are almost disposed to carry it out of the Saxon into the British period. I will content myself with a strong opinion that it is *Saxon*, leaving it to others to adjudicate on the claims of Edbald and of Godwin, and of the great gulf of four hundred years which severs them."

Through the courtesy of Mr. J. O. Scott, F.S.A. Scot., I have been enabled to place before the members of the Association careful transcripts of the very accurate drawings made for Sir Gilbert by Mr. J. N. Marshall during the repairs of the church. By them much information is furnished of what is now again hidden underground, and thus not visible, and which helps towards a solution of the difficult points of its history.

The first of these shows the plan and general arrangements of the whole church, inclusive of the later changes it underwent; the second, a careful section through the building, and all its contents, down to the very unmoved native clay on which, like its neighbour, the Pharos of Roman date, it rests (taken on line east and west); the third, a part section, longitudinally extending to west of cross, to a scale twice that of the former, thus more readily presenting the underground features.

From Mr. Marshall's Reports to Sir Gilbert I will now transcribe such paragraphs as refer to the work, which certainly dates prior to the Conquest, with the addition of references regarding special points affecting the very early history of the building. Mr. Marshall, after describing the discovery of the fragments of ancient door-jambs with long and short work, in the north transept, proceeds:—

"Wednesday, April 27, 1860, workmen commenced clearing with ruins of church. On clearing away the earth on the south side of the nave there was brought to light an ancient doorway formed with long and short work in the jambs. The semicircular arch is turned over in old tiles 12 inches square; and on the external side of the jambs there remains a portion of the old tape-moulding, or parallel band, 9 inches wide, projecting from the face of the wall $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

"Traces of ironwork run in with lead are to be seen in several parts of the old stone forming the jamb. The foundations of the church are mostly of large flint, with flat pieces of stone at the sets-off and plinth-lines, of green sandstone formation, very hard. The whole superstructure rests on a very uniform and most excellent bottom, formed of very stiff clay containing a large proportion of flints intermixed. The strata dip towards the east. This will account, in some

measure, for the chancel-walls being taken down to a greater depth than the other foundations.

"At the south-east corner of the chancel, on the soil, a space of about 10 feet square was covered with a thin layer of chalk-lime about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. Although very wet, it was remarkably fresh, considering the many hundred years it must have been there. The layer of black ashes much resembled powdered charcoal, and was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, over which was laid a layer of finely powdered burnt clay about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. (It was probably much thicker when laid on.)

"The first filling in on the burnt clay consists of loose concrete with some beach stones and small chalk intermixed, some earth and old dry rubbish and flints. All this was very loose. I was very particular at this part to ascertain if any fragments of old wrought stone could be found among the rubbish, as it might give a slight clue to the date of its being filled in; but nothing of the sort could be discovered, either worked or plain.

"The layer of concrete over this was not very compact. It varied in thickness from 9 to 12 inches; in places sunk considerably. Some parts of the upper surface bore the impress of some kind of block-paving; but not sufficiently distinct to make out what description it was, probably a continuation of the chalk floor as under tower.

"The lower block of concrete under the chancel window extended the whole width of the chancel. It was not very sound; and as it had been partly broken up before, I could not ascertain its exact dimensions. The upper block was composed of layers of land-flints of about a foot in thickness, laid dry; and then a layer of an inferior kind of concrete laid over it, and brought up to the required height.

"The chalk floor extends over the whole area of the tower, but not beyond, except on the east side, where it runs 1 foot into the chancel, and finishes off to a straight line. The other sides stop against the walls under the tower-arches leading into the transepts, the walls of which stand about 1 foot above the said floor-level. The floor is formed of blocks of hewn chalk averaging 9 inches square, 6 inches thick, and firmly bedded and jointed in coarse mortar.

"On the *west* side, and under the tower-arch, are some slight remains of a doorway, the sill of which is level with the chalk floor; and on either side of the doorway remain portions of the plinth which formed the door-jambs, projecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches before the face of the wall. There are traces of plaster on the face of this wall, on the tower side. The thickness of the wall I could not ascertain as it had been broken up at some former period. I could find no trace of floor in either transept.

"On the east side, between the piers of the tower, I have no doubt the foundation remains in precisely the same condition as when first built with the tower. No additional heightening appears to have taken place. The upper surface as well as the sides have the appearance of being roughly plastered over with coarse mortar.

"On the west side, in addition to what I have before stated, the stone abutting on the south-west pier appears to have been placed there as a step. The front edge is chamfered off, or it might possibly have been portion of the plinth to a screen-wall between piers. The block of stone standing on end within the tower I can assign no place for. It is of the coarse oolite kind, the same as in the old doorway on the south side of the nave.

"All the other stone here is Caen, including the step between the jambs. This step appears to have been prepared for a body-stone originally, and bears some curiously incised marks on it. The remains of walls between the piers leading to the transepts had been so much disturbed and broken up for interments, that I could find no trace of any doorway whatever. That these walls had been built of flint, and plastered on both sides, was all that I was able to ascertain.

"On clearing out the old window on the west side of the south transept I found the indent of splayed lintels as in the two small windows of nave."

Mr. Marshall's careful notes of what was laid open are most valuable. Applying the light they give to the section of the eastern end, it becomes tolerably evident that in the layer of chalk (line A), at south-east corner of chancel, we have the floor. And in the layer of "black ashes" (B), resembling powdered charcoal, together with that of "burnt clay" (C), we are further presented with the residuum of the burnt first fabric of wood (its roof of earth and reed covering being the so-called burnt clay). The outline of its lime floor, had it been placed on plan and preserved, would probably have enabled a guess at its arrangement. These lime floors extend over a very long period of time, as at Stone-juxta-Faversham, where two (one at least of Saxon date) were cut through; and in that of Gundulph's work and those of two later periods, seen during the excavations made through the floor of choir at Rochester Cathedral.

The sunk chancel-space of the destroyed building had been filled in with rubbish, among which Mr. Marshall describes how carefully, but of course unavailingly, he sought to find any fragments of worked stone; for, indeed, it is both unlikely the early building had any, or that even burials existed, for tombstones to be required, and by them to have left fragments. To the fresh rebuilding seems to belong the lower mass of so-called "concrete" along the east wall, for altar support; curiously similar to what was presented for the same use at Stone-juxta-Faversham (in that case, however, of short length).

Having thus seen Rebuilding No. 2, above it lies Rebuilding No. 3. Mr. Marshall is here seen to discover its floor of chalk blocks so perfectly, that his description of the pavement of its cross, besides furnishing the facts of the existence of transepts, enables us to learn that it followed the almost invariable custom of Saxon churches,

in having at least one step down into chancel, as he states the finding of the straight line of its eastern face. And his plan again shows the block of rough, loose material for support of altar slab or slabs. So thorough was the recovery of the floor-line of the last Saxon building by these disclosures, that one is tempted to wish that Sir Gilbert had concluded to accept its old arrangements for the present church; returning to this early floor-line for choir, and by stiling the bases of the Early English vaulting obtaining the extra height.

From a short study of the building on the spot, it appeared to me that even the *old* walling, as now seen, presents two dates; see south door of nave, in the part at base with projecting band,—its upper portion, where the band is gone; for the band must have originally gone all round. Not any part of the building can be at most earlier than about 990, while much of the walling—upper part of the central tower and square windows—is more likely to belong to 1050 or thereabout. The pointing up of the walls (necessary for the building's preservation) renders excessively difficult the discernment of *slight* traces of the junctions of different periods of building, though cases such as the removal and building up again of the space from whence the old Saxon north door was removed are very easily recognisable eastwards of the present door, probably inserted by the English William of Canterbury.

To those who may see Sir Gilbert's paper, it is but right to say that I discovered it had, accidentally, never received his corrections when going through the printer's hands. Irrespective, thus, of several printer's blunders, which much interfere with the matter of it, there appears every probability to suspect that in one place a whole sheet of the MS. is wanting.

The following entry had, I think, escaped Sir Gilbert:

"An 7^o Heny. 3. A.D. 1223. Rot. Lit. Clausarum, p. 551.

"D' ecclia } Reg Cōstabul ⁊ sociis suis custodib; opaciōis Castri
Dovr repanda } Dovr salř. Mandam⁹ vob qđ eccliam B'e Marie
in Castro Dovr sitam reparari faciatis simul cū
alia opacione ejusdē Castri de denar nris ad eandē opacionē assignatis qui sunt ī custodia vĩa T. H. 7c ap Westm̄ xij die Juñ Año ř. n vij p eundē."

Surely this dates the sedilia and some of the later additions to the church.

GUMFRESTON CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

(Read at the Tenby Congress, 1884.)

OF all the parish churches the present Congress has visited, this is, perhaps, the smallest; but it is not always that the largest buildings are the most interesting, and after a careful examination of this little fabric, it may turn out that it has in it features worthy of attention; equal, if not exceeding, in proportion to its size, those which the larger churches we have seen have afforded.

Reposing in the lap of the hills, as it were, surrounded by the graceful foliage of the acacia, the ash, and other ornamental trees, with its simple grey roof, ivy-grown walls, and lofty tower, this little church must attract the admiration of every lover of the picturesque.

Plan.—Its plan consists of a nave with a circular projection in the north side, chancel, western porch, tower to the north-east of the nave, and what is now used as a vestry, south of the chancel.

Peculiarities.—Peculiarities present themselves in every feature. The chancel-arch is but about 5 feet in width, and 8 feet in height. It is semicircular in form, and has a rough, unwrought impost running through its soffit only.

Recesses.—On either side of it are recesses in the flanking wall, and on its northern side are projecting corbels and pieces of wall. These suggest that even this little church had its rood-loft, the entrance to which was through the present recess, south of the arch; the steps to which would be in the chancel, as at Hodgeston; the small, square recess next the chancel being part of the wall opening to the rood-loft.

Vestry.—The present vestry was a chantry-chapel. The door to the east is of recent insertion, and the archway next the chancel has been opened up since the erection of the chapel. It is lighted by a large window of two lights in the south wall, and it is groined with diagonal

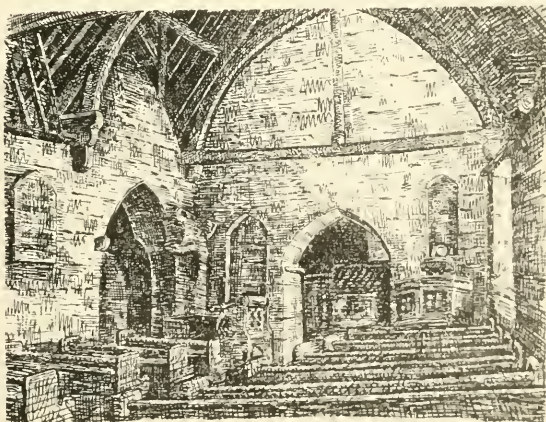
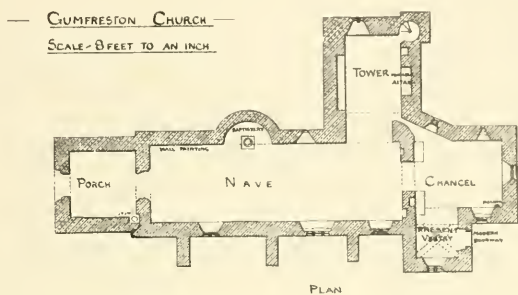
ribs springing from slight corbels in the angles. The ribs are simply square, without moulding of any kind.

Tower.—Externally, the tower stands apart from the church, being connected only by a low roof with the nave; but internally it is united to the nave in its lowest stage, which is ceiled by a pointed barrel-vault faced with large wrought stones. At its north-east angle is the stair-turret which leads to the top of its roof, and from which there is a fine view of the town of Tenby, and to seaward. Its total height, from floor to top of parapet, is 61 ft. 5 ins. The external face of its walls batters to the extent of 12 ins., being 15 ft. 9 ins. wide at the base, and 14 ft. 9 ins. wide at the parapet. It was originally divided into no less than five stages: the ground-floor formed part of the church, the first floor was the ringing-chamber, the second and third floors have windows to the north and east sides, the fourth floor is arranged as a dovecot, and the fifth is the belfry. High up in this lofty and weird tower hangs an ancient, solitary bell, as beautiful in form, and decorated with letters as artistic in their treatment as any that ever left mediæval foundry. Each letter is stamped on a separate patera, as was usual with early inscriptions; and all are spaced at slight intervals apart, with an initial cross at the commencement. There is no date, and the legend reads, "Sancta Maria ora pro nobis." So beautiful are these letters that I have taken casts of half a dozen of them, and have them here for inspection. They have been produced from squeezes taken with potter's clay, and casts run with plaster of Paris. The general disposition of the lettering is shown by the rough rubbing of the inscription which I exhibit. The stock and mountings of the bell are ancient; but the frame and wheel were put up in 1847, as the framing bears this date, with the initials L^d. P., churchwarden. By referring to the Register it will be found that these initials represent the name of Llen Prydy, who also signs a notice of meeting for "shoesing churchwardens", and entitles himself "churchwarnd". The earliest date given in the Register is 1647, and this occurs amongst entries of later date.

On the east side of the tower, on the ground-floor, is



South-west View.



Looking East.



an arched recess with a slab within it projecting over the face of the wall. South of the recess is a projecting corbel, and north of it a niche within the wall. Recessed altars are, perhaps, not common, but this would appear to be one. On its surface, I think, remains of the usual crosses may be made out.

Many as are the remarkable features of this interesting tower, perhaps the most striking one remains to be noticed, namely, that the vault connecting the tower with the church carries the south wall of the tower itself. This vaulted floor of the tower is lighted by a two-light window on the north, which has a simple square head like all the other windows in the tower.

One word as to the reason for the great height of this tower in proportion to its base. It was evidently intended to do duty as both tower and spire. If the ordinary proportion of a tower had been adopted, it would, in such a situation as this, have had but little more effect than a gate-post. Even with the present height of tower, any one in the drawing-room of the Rectory may feel that he could pretty nearly shake hands with a friend on the parapet of the tower.

Squint.—Between the tower and the chancel there is a well developed squint,—a detail of which a considerable number have come under the notice of the Congress.

Nave.—In the nave, the projection outwards on the north side, against which the font is now placed, is unusual; but whether it was intended as a baptistery or not, it is certainly well appropriated to baptismal purposes.

Fresco.—Just west of, and on the same wall, there still remains a surface, 10 ft. by 3 ft., of decoration in colour, commonly designated “the fresco”; but as a matter of fact it is simply decoration in distemper on the surface of former whitewash. Much interest is attached to it locally; but it is a class of work which in the Midland Counties is of very frequent occurrence. But a few weeks ago I was in a little church in the county of Stafford, then doomed to destruction, but now happily (as Mr. Brock only last night informed me) to be numbered amongst the saved, where every wall above the windows was completely covered with the same kind of ornament. The subject represented here is imagined to be the mar-

tyrdom of St. Lawrence, in whose name the church is said to be dedicated. The principal part of the outline represents two human feet (whether of man or woman I cannot tell), and a number of forms which are considered to represent the instruments of a martyrdom; and I believe the circle with chequered lines within its area is pointed to as a gridiron, and the curved lines below the left foot as a pair of scissors. I am able to show a photograph of the painting, kindly sent to the meeting by Miss Smith, a daughter of a late rector of the parish, and an earnest antiquary, under whose auspices the church was restored in 1870. Photographs of such subjects are often not successful, and you will see that in this case it has been found necessary to indicate in writing which is the top of the picture. However interesting historically this feature may be, I have no hesitation in assigning it to a post-Reformation date, nor of calling it rude in execution and inartistic in design; but at the same time would commend it to careful preservation by those in authority at the church. Its colours are, black for the outlines and elsewhere, and yellow and buff for the fillings in.

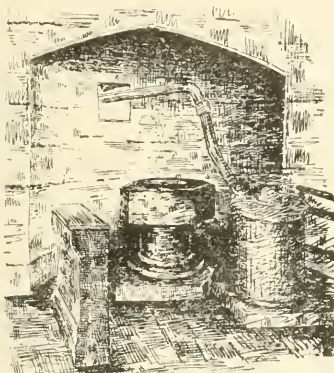
West Wall.—In the west gable of the nave there is a lancet-window corresponding in character with those pointed out by Mr. Brock in the belfry-stage of the tower of St. Mary's at Tenby. It is now thrown into the inside of the church, by the western porch. Above it is now a glazed light.

South Wall.—On the south wall of the nave, near the west end, will be noticed a projecting corbel, which, no doubt, carried the timbers of a former western gallery.

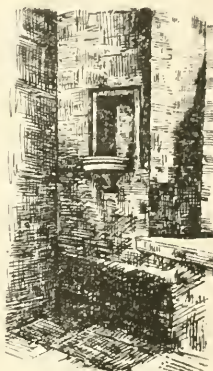
Porch.—At the west end of the nave, the very large and commodious porch, with a pointed barrel-roof, is situated. In its south-west angle, and partly within the thickness of its south wall and that of the west gable of the church, is placed what is known as a holy water stoup. If such was its purpose, it certainly allowed of an abundant supply of the coveted element. It is as large as many fonts, measuring 2 ft. 3 ins. externally, and 1 ft. 8 ins. across the octagon of its bowl internally. It is pierced through the underside, and across the opening is placed a thin iron bar within an inch and a half of the



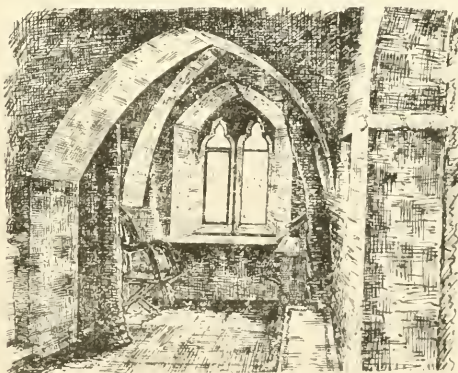
Tower Arch.



Baptistery.



Piscina in Chancel.



Vestry (Chantry Chapel).



top. Over the entrance to the church is a small niched recess, on the north side of the lancet-window before mentioned. In the west gable of the porch is a circular-headed doorway, 3 ft. 9 ins. in width, and 5 ft. to the spring. On the north and south flanks are stone seats, which, looking at the size of the church, and of the population of the parish, would seem to point out that this unusually capacious porch was used for purposes other than a mere entrance. It may be for meetings of vestry, or for such occasional ceremonies as were referred to by Colonel Bramble when he pointed out the porch-loft at Castle Martin Church. Externally this porch has a stone covering only, which accounts for the exuberant growth of the plants upon it, and also for the dampness of the walls inside.

Externally.—Speaking generally of the exterior of the church, little need be said beyond what has already been mentioned, and what will follow under the head of *Dates*.

Accessories.—There are sundry accessories of the church well worthy of attention. First of all the font may be noticed. Whilst agreeing with those at other neighbouring churches, it differs from them in the detail of its design. In it the angles of the bowl are taken off, and it becomes an irregular octagon externally; but it is worked into an exact octagon in the inside. Its shaft diminishes downwards in the height, being larger in diameter at the top than at the bottom, while the base is moulded in a much more developed form than others which have been seen. On the weathering of the plinth there are several small incised crosses, some of them evidently of recent date; but those on the south-west and north-west sides are of a character corresponding with the font itself. In the chancel a very beautiful projecting piscina remains, having a sunk quatrefoil top. The recess has been altered into an aumbry at a later date.

Bell.—Next, there is the loose bell known as the “sanctus” bell, now placed in the recess at the back of the pulpit. Its total height is 8 ins., and it measures 5½ ins. across the mouth. Whether this bell was rung by the hand, or mounted, may be open to question; but if placed on the top of the building, its sound would be but faint.

Flagon and Paten.—In the same recess are a pewter

flagon and a plate, 9 ins. in diameter, which may have served either as paten or alms-dish. The lower side of it bears a stamp in four divisions, which contain patterns on them, either of date, or ornament, or official mark. The flagon is $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. high, and $4\frac{7}{8}$ ins. in diameter at the foot. It has a hinged cover and a carved handle. Its design is not inelegant, and its workmanship is good. In a small recess in the north wall, near to the "fresco", is a wooden box with a sliding top and massive handle. It measures 13 ins. long, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide, and 7 ins. high, and I suppose is used for the collection of alms,—amusingly contrasting with the alms-bags now in vogue, and also with the pewter alms-dish before alluded to.

Memorials of the Dead.—The memorials of the dead within the church are now few, but they are not without interest. The oldest is in the present vestry, and is inscribed, "Here lieth the body of Katheren Parat, the wife of John Apris, Esquire, who died the 17th day of September 1614." Within the present sanctuary, north and south of the altar-table, are two slabs; that to the south bears round its margin the inscription, "Here lyeth the body of Henry Williams, Gent., and of the town of Tenby, Alderman, who departed this life the 10th day of May anno dom. 1696, in the 61st of his age." Within the margin is a lengthened allusion to death, ending in this appeal to the reader: "How necessary it is to be prepared for death, learn of me, Henry Williams." This slab has on it the coat of arms of the family in very good character.

On the north side there is a corresponding slab with the following inscription in the margin: "Here lyeth the body of John Williams of Norchard, Esqr., who departed this life 23th (*sic*) day of January in the year of our Lord 1693, in the fifty-second year of his age." In the centre of the slab is a long appeal to the reader, and after relating the activity of the life of the memorialised, ends, "but now lye confined in my grave, silently waiting for that day when my great God to me shall say, Arise, my servant, come and see the glory preserved for thee, enjoy it to eternity."

At the west end of the nave is a mural tablet to George Edwards, his wife, and children. He died April 12th,

1799, aged eighty-two years. On the north wall of the nave is an inscribed brass giving memoranda of the families of Hall and Williams of Daisy Bank in this parish. Amongst others, it records of Benjamin, son of Richard and Margaret Hall, who was Fellow of Jesus College, Oxon., D.D., and Chancellor of the Diocese of Llandaff, and Precentor there. At the foot of this brass it is engraved, in parenthesis, "(intended for the south wall.)" So it would not appear to be advisable to dogmatise even as to the position of a memorial brass.

The usual and uninscribed memorial of the humble dead, in the form of the churchyard-cross, must not be forgotten. Its base and shaft still stand in the middle of the churchyard, on the north side.

Date.—Now as to chronology. After very careful examination of the church, it is my opinion that the original structure consisted of nave and chancel only, and that their walls are of late twelfth century build. Then in the thirteenth century the south chapel was erected, wherein stood an altar-tomb until the last restoration. Would that it were still there! Afterwards the tower with its chapel were added late in the fourteenth century; and still later, the north recess, or baptistery, in the fifteenth century; and finally, the western porch in the sixteenth century. The window to the south of the vestry is coeval with that building. Every stone of the tower may be said to be uniform in date; and its great distinction from the other part of the work is that it has dressed quoin-stones throughout at all its angles. The marks of a pointed tool on these are distinctly visible. Elsewhere (excepting in the windows, which are for the most part insertions) there is no tooled stonework in the walls. The original windows of the nave and chancel were in all probability mere slits, smaller than those now on the north side of those walls.

Restoration.—We may be thankful that in the recent restoration the leaning and bulged wall on the south side of the nave has been preserved to us, and propped by strengthening buttresses. Generally speaking, the restoration has been of a conservative kind.

THE EXETER BOOK (*CODEx EXONIENSIS*).

BY D. SLATER, ESQ.

(Read at the Plymouth Congress, 1882.)

THERE is now in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter a MS. of considerable archæological interest, called the *Codex Exoniensis*, or *The Exeter Book*, a short account of whose history and contents may be of interest to many members of this Association. I am indebted to the Rev. H. E. Reynolds for permission to examine it, which I did in April last. We are informed that it was one of many presents made by Leofric, the first Bishop of Exeter, when the see was removed thither by Edward the Confessor from Crediton in the year 1046.

Passing over a brief mention made of this interesting relic by Wanley, the MS. seems to have attracted little attention till the publication of some extracts from it in Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* in 1826. But by far the most important event in its history was the publication of the entire contents of the MS. itself, with a translation and notes by the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, Thorpe, which work was undertaken in 1842 by the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is impossible to speak too highly of this edition of Thorpe's, whether we consider the care with which he has edited the text, the sagacity of his emendations, or the general accuracy of the translation. Hence the popularity of Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* during the past forty years. But will it be sufficient for forty years to come? I think not; and I would suggest to the British Archæological Association that good service might be done by the issue of a new edition, and at a lower price. We must remember that great progress has been made in our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon since the appearance of Thorpe's *Codex*, a large portion of which progress we owe to such German scholars as Leo, Ettmüller, and Grein, who are worthy successors of our own Kemble and Thorpe; so that it is not too much to say that many passages, and even whole

Uplizgesih onpe schun sw pas pnatlice pundum
gesuiped hakes schuphe . set undsi pombe schtupe
mon . h . p . x . p . u . c . w . x . l . k . p . p . h . o . i . s . : q . x . s . u . f . o . n . o . n . h . e .
se hakes arishu schupe aigan wisse hie du raga hie tuo
pashie schuplod pegas nepas . schupazul ana aschasi pas as
hiesles cerna selicns hiesst . monns hunsst . schupst .
schac pish . plize schupast schup consf zoger & zanne . schup
schod pish . hiesst . plize pish . zonge : 7



pieces, which were obscure to Thorpe, are clear now to any good Anglo-Saxon scholar.

The age of the MS. is unknown, but we certainly shall not err greatly if we assign it to the latter half of the tenth century. In form it is a vellum-leaved, folio book, bound in old calf, and lettered on the back, "Liber Decani et Capituli Exoniensis." It is numbered in the Catalogue 3,501. It measures 12 ins. in length, 9 ins. in breadth, and between 1 and 2 ins. in thickness. It contains 130 vellum leaves, with an average of 22 lines to the page, and 40 letters to the line. The general character of the writing will be seen in the accompanying facsimile of the 37th Riddle, taken from the second volume of Grein's *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*.

The MS. is unfortunately incomplete both at the beginning and at the end; and happy should we be if we could add that the mutilations were confined to the beginning and end. Unfortunately one of the grandest pieces the MS. contains has been made (by excisions with the pen-knife), like its subject, "A Ruin."

The contents of the MS. do not form one grand poem, like Beowulf or Cædmon, but present us with a great variety of pieces on various subjects,—religious, moral, or simply entertaining. It contains poems on the Birth and Crucifixion of Christ, the Harrowing of Hell and the Day of Judgment, the Legend of St. Guthlac, the Phoenix,—a poem of great beauty and originality of treatment (although the subject is borrowed from Lactantius), and the Legend of St. Juliana. Then follow various smaller pieces, as the Wanderer, the Sea-Farer, Riddles, Gnostic Verses, etc. All of them are composed in the usual alliterative metre common to the High Germans, the Low Germans, and the Scandinavians; but we have one piece, apparently the only one in Anglo-Saxon literature, written in modern rhyme. The history of rhyme seems to have been this. Englishmen write Latin first in rhyme, then Continental Germans and French apply it to their own tongues, and finally Englishmen apply it to their native tongue.

With respect to the authorship of the pieces in the *Exeter Book*, Mr. Worth, in his *West Country Garland*, if I remember rightly, hazards the conjecture that most

of them were written by a west country poet. On what grounds this conjecture is made I do not know : perhaps the wish was father to the thought. We might have long remained in entire ignorance on this subject had not Mr. Kemble discovered that in several of the poems runes are introduced which together spell the name *Cynewulf*. In this way we are enabled to refer to him, as their author, the Christ, the Juliana, and the Elene of the Vercelli MS. In addition to these, "The Wanderer" has been ascribed to him with great probability, and the Riddles almost with certainty, the first of them being a riddle on the name itself.

There are many pieces of considerable merit in the volume, the beauty of which even a bald translation cannot altogether hide. The following description of the Happy Land is taken from "The Phoenix":

"Serene is the glorious plain, the sunny bower glitters,
The woodyholt joyously, the fruits fall not,
The bright products; but the trees ever
Stand green as God them hath commanded.
In winter and in summer the forest is alike
Hung with fruits. Never fade
The leaves in air, nor will flame them injure
Ever throughout ages, ere that an end
To the world shall be. What time of old the water's mass
All mid-earth the sea-flood decked
The earth's circumference; then the noble plain,
In all ways secure against the billowy course,
Stood preserved of the rough waves,
Happy, inviolate, through God's favour.
It shall abide thus blooming until the coming of the fire
Of the Lord's doom, when the death-houses,
Men's dark chambers, shall be opened."¹

With a few lines from "The Ruin" I will close:—

"Wondrous is this wall-stone, the Fates have broken it,
Have burst the burgh-place. Perishes the work of giants.
The roofs are fallen, the towers tottering,
The hoar gate-towers despoiled, rime on the lime;
Shattered the battlement, riven, fallen!

* * * *

There many a chief of old,
Joyous and gold-bright, splendidly decorated,
Proud, and with wine elate, in warlike decorations shone;
Looked on treasure, on silver, on curious gems,
On luxury, on wealth, on precious stone,
On this bright burgh of a broad realm."

¹ Thorpe's translation, quoted by Longfellow, *Inferno*, p. 245.

NOTES ON OLD CLAPHAM REGISTERS AND PARISH DOCUMENTS.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read 4 Feb. 1885.*)

CLAPHAM is fast disappearing in the ever widening circuit of suburban London ; the wave of population sweeps on-wards, and local names and traditions go down before it, as we see the small sand-hills which children build on the sea-shore disappear before the flowing tide. The street-nomenclature of new London has been left to the builder and contractor, who have neither taste nor love for the past : hence the streets they build do not recall the memories of the sites they occupy, nor the great men who made them famous.

In Clapham chances have been lost. We have, it is true, the names of great men recorded in the Cavendish and Macaulay Roads ; but where are all the others who made Clapham their home, and who made it famous amongst all places of the earth ? The antiquary must not dwell on modern triumphs and achievements ; but he must be forgiven if he pauses for a moment to pay a passing tribute of respect to that hallowed ground which, on the authority of Lord Macaulay, sent forth all the Bible Societies and almost all the missionary societies in the world ; which evangelised England, and educated it too. The free air of Clapham Common it was which inspired Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay to do battle in the sacred cause of freedom ; and according to that same noble authority (himself an offspring of the same soil), it was here that the slave-trade and slavery were destroyed. What other spot in England can make such a claim ? Of what other place in the world can so much be said ? Yet no monument records the work. Not even a tablet on a wall, or a name to a street, serves to bring back to modern minds this most mighty achievement in the whole story of human progress. Some day, perhaps, the world may wake up, and do tardy justice to the names

of those immortal men who on Clapham Common fought and won a battle to which Marathon and Waterloo, measured by their results on the happiness of mankind, were but the skirmishes of an outpost. Some day or other the world will, perhaps, erect a monument on Clapham Common to those who gave their lives and their devotion to the emancipation of the most oppressed races of mankind.

One by one the famous old houses, too, are passing away ; and perhaps some future suburban Gibbon may endeavour to write the Decline and Fall of Clapham, for the hand of the speculating builder is heavy, and effaces old landmarks just as surely as the Goth and Hun swept away the porticoes and palaces of imperial Rome. Before this, however, takes place it may be well for some one to try to rescue some memorials of the past ; and the object of this monograph is rather to draw attention to the work to be done than to accomplish it.

The Registers of the parish of Clapham deserve some passing remarks. They are fairly complete, except for ten years, from 1691 to 1701 ; and they are interesting, not only as showing the growth of the population, but as giving us glimpses of those distinguished persons who made Clapham their home ; and they also tell us of the antiquity of several families now living amongst us. In these days of change and railways it is curious to find how old families still remain over two centuries in the same spot.

The first Register of the parish, containing 124 pages of parchment, has the baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1551 to 1677. It appears to have been rebound in 1796, under the direction of the Rev. John Venn. The first baptism recorded is that of "Anthony, the sonne of John Warfield", on 14 Aug. 1552. In the time of Elizabeth her name seems to have been very popular, as was natural. Sometimes there are only three entries in a year ; in 1596 there are seven entries ; in 1600, five entries ; and ten in 1647 ; in 1652 there are eight entries, one of them of "the sonne of Coll^l. George Thistleton, the Governor of Denbigh Castle in N. Wales." In 1651 we find the name of Winterbottom,—a name still belonging to a respected Clapham family. In 1661 there were eleven

entries, showing that the population, though small, was increasing.

Of marriages, the first recorded is that of John Warfield and Margaret, in 1551, the year of the Protector Somerset's execution. Generally, at first, there are only two entries in the year; in 1607 there were five. Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin was married to Mary Courten on 14 Oct. 1641.

Of burials, the first is John Patison, Dec. 17, 1555. There were only three entries in that year; nine in 1580; three in 1600; and as many as twenty in 1603, probably due to the plague.

On May 3rd, 1622, we first find the name of William Thornton, showing that that distinguished family, who still have representatives here, have been in Clapham during the long period of two hundred and sixty years. May 31, 1632, we find the name of Judith, daughter of Daniel Pennington,—a name occupying a prominent place amongst us, and borne by our respected churchwarden, after the long lapse of two hundred and fifty years. Sir Henry Atkins, the lord of the manor, was buried 19 July 1638; Col. William Sidenham, Sept. 6, 1661. On 8 Sept. 1661 we find the curious entry of "a vagrant maid". In the year of the Great Plague, 1665, we find as many as twenty-eight entries. In 1672 we find the curious Christian name of "Repentance". The name of Thatcher appears in 1675, and also that of Franks in 1677, both well known names in Clapham still.

The second Register of the parish contains baptisms from 1678-1689, marriages from 1678-1702, burials from 1678-1691. Of baptisms we have sixteen in 1678, thirteen in 1670, and twenty-five in 1688. Marriages, only three in 1685; but of burials as many as twenty-six in 1679.

A very curious form of burial-entry is adopted in 1678, which deserves some allusion. It runs thus: "Elizabeth Cary was buried in woollen, according to Act of Parliament"; and all entries up to 1690 state whether the body was buried in woollen or linen. The law seems to have imposed some fine for using the latter material, which was evidently considered a luxury which only wealthy corpses could aspire to. For instance, on 8th April 1679,

we find Mrs. Mary Wallis was buried in "lynnen"; and the entry adds, "Information given, and £2 10s. distributed to y^e poor." Sometimes the entry states that the body was buried in woollen, and affidavit received within the time limited.

Amongst those who were buried at this time we find the name of Sir Dennis Gauden, 1st July 1688. He was the Victualler for the Navy, and owner of the next estate to the manor, and the great friend of Pepys.

The third Register extends from 1706-1730. In 1707 there were thirteen baptisms; in 1716, twenty; and in 1726 there were thirty-four. In 1706 there were eight marriages; in 1713, seven. In 1702 there were twenty-two burials; twenty-seven in 1709; thirty-eight in 1726.

After this the Registers begin to approach modern times, and have nothing of note; but before passing from them I would draw attention to one very remarkable entry at the end of the second Register, being a list of children touched by "His Mat^{ie} for y^e evil". "Mary, y^e daughter of John Bowne Junior, was toucht March y^o 16- ^{$\frac{8}{7}$} ", etc. His Majesty, in this case, would be James II; and it is interesting to find the record of this strange custom in our parish.

Touching for disease by the royal hand is said to be traceable to Edward the Confessor's time. Old writers speak of a disease called "The King's Evil", from the King's curing it with his touch; and Dr. Ralph Bathurst, no superstitious man, protested in Charles I's time to Aubrey, that the curing of "The King's Evil" by the touch of the King "puzzled his philosophie". The worthy man evidently assumed the fact without question. The solemn words, "I touch, but God healeth", were always pronounced by the Sovereign when he touched or administered the "Sovereign salve" as Bulwer calls it. The practice was at its height in the time of Charles II; and in the first four years after his restoration, he "touched" nearly 24,000 persons. Pepys, in his *Diary*, records how he waited at Whitehall to see the King "touch" people. Dr. Johnson, when a boy, was taken by his father from Lichfield to London to be "touched" by Queen Anne for the "Evil" in 1712. At a late period the use of certain coins was in vogue, which being "touched" by the King

were supposed to have the power of warding off evil or scrofula. These coins are called "royal touch-pieces", and several are preserved in the British Museum.¹

Before passing from the Registers which deal with vital statistics, it may be well to mention that in the year 1774 (just one hundred and ten years ago), the number of persons in Clapham was only 1,625; in 1788 it had increased to 2,477, inhabiting 344 houses; in 1801 it was 3,864; in 1811 it had grown to 5,083; in 1821 to 7,151; in 1826 to 8,588, inhabiting 1,428 houses. By the last census it had reached the enormous number of 36,300.

Nothing throws greater light upon the past than the list of collections made in the churches. It marks the popular sentiment, and shows how remarkably charitable our old Clapham ancestors were, when it is remembered that the value of money was so much greater than it is now, and how small the population then was. On the other hand it may be remarked that collections were comparatively rare events; now they are of weekly occurrence. The first collection we have any record of was in Puritan times, in the year of the King's execution, 1649, when the sum of £86 was collected for propagation of the Gospel in New England, amongst the Indians; showing that the noble philanthropic spirit which afterwards made Clapham so famous was of ancient origin.

In 1671 the sum of £11 : 8 : 10 was collected for the redemption of slaves in Turkey. In recent times we have seen Clapham send out the munificent sum of nearly £350 for the unhappy victims of Turkish oppression in Bulgaria. In 1689, £33 : 14 : 6 was sent for the relief of Irish Protestants; in 1690 a collection was made for the sufferers by fire in East Smithfield; and we find many collections for a similar purpose. Insurance offices against fire did not probably exist in those times, and distress had to be relieved by private charity.

In 1691 a remarkable collection was made for the relief of the inhabitants of Tinmouth, destroyed by the French; and in 1692 another similar contribution was raised for another town. England in those days was not, evidently, mistress of the seas, and her coast-towns were liable to

¹ See Lord Braybrooke's Notes to Pepys' *Diary*.

frequent incursions of the enemy. In 1698 the noble sum of £126 was raised for the brave Vaudois, the Protestants of the Alps, who through Popish cruelty had been exiled from their native lands. In 1701 the sum of £31 was collected for the redemption of English captives in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco.

To come to more modern times. In 1797, £106 was raised for the widows of seamen killed in Lord Duncan's engagement. In 1805 the large sum of £189 : 4 : 6 was collected for seamen wounded in Lord Nelson's action off Trafalgar; in 1807, £87 : 19 : 9 was raised for British prisoners in France; in 1815, on 2nd July, £148 : 6 : 3 was raised for the widows and orphans of soldiers who fell at Waterloo. The largest sum ever raised appears to have been £243 : 3 : 8, on 25 March 1822, for the Church Missionary Society. This marks the epoch when Clapham was probably at the zenith of its greatness, when it stood foremost as the home of the great Evangelical reformers of the age.

When on matters ecclesiastical, I may mention (although the subject is outside of the four corners of this paper strictly) that the present Clapham parish church is not on the original site of the parish church, which really stood where St. Paul's does, near the Wandsworth Road Station. I have only recently come across a view of the original church in the 85th vol., Part II, p. 489, of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1, 1813, evidently taken just before its destruction, when a chapel of ease was built, and has since grown into the present St. Paul's.

In 1774 an Act of Parliament for building the present ugly church on the Common was passed, in pursuance of which the old church was taken down, except the north aisle, which was left for the performance of the burial service. This aisle was taken down in 1814. The church was dedicated to St. Mary, and probably dated from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It was originally built without a tower, and had only a nave and chancel. Atkins Chapel was built by the lord of the manor in 1500; and another chapel was built by Walter Frost, on the south, in 1674. The north aisle, which is what is shown in the view in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was built in 1715. The south aisle, built in 1730, was, together with the nave and Frost's Chapel, taken down in 1778.

A new Rectory was built about ten years ago in the Macaulay Road by Mr. P'Anson, architect ; the old Rectory having been pulled down, in Rectory Grove, three years ago, and the site covered by some small houses called Rectory Gardens. The Rectory stood on the piece of ground near the present Parochial Schools, which were built originally on a piece of ground given for that purpose by Richard Atkins, Esq., lord of the manor of Clapham, by deed dated 28 January 1648. The original school-house was taken down and rebuilt in 1781; and in 1809 an octagonal building, now used, was added.

Parish histories are instructive as throwing light upon the times they relate to, and the progress of civilisation. I have already overstepped the limits of this paper, but there are one or two notices to which I will allude.

In 1603 the Rev. Edward Couchman, rector, his wife, three children, and maid-servant, all died of the plague ; giving us a terrible instance of the destruction caused in those times by that dreadful complaint.

In 1649 we first find notices of choosing constables.

In 1650 the church was ordered to be enlarged ; and in 1653 leave was given to Walter Frost to erect a chapel on the south side of the church. In 1655 the churchwardens take charge of the parish chest.

In 1680 we find the parish ordering four muskets and three pikes for the militia.

In 1686 Mr. Thos. Rodbeard pays a fine of £10 to be excused serving the office of churchwarden for two years.

In 1690 the first stage-coach is established, once a day, to Gracechurch Street. A great step this in progress. It seems to mark the dawn of modern commercial city life, of the old inhabitants of Clapham. The first watch is also appointed by the High Constable. A watch-house is built, and eight men have to watch nightly.

In 1693, bull-baiting forbidden in the parish by order of the Vestry. In 1705 it is ordered that a soldier be clothed and fitted out for the militia. Ordered that Luke Handscombe be the soldier.

In 1706 Dr. Brady (of the famous firm of Tate and Brady) proposed using the new version of the Psalms in the church, which was agreed to.

In 1709 we find £1 : 1 : 6 paid for pressing a foot-soldier,

and his subsistence. Soldiers were cheaper then than they appear to be now.

In 1722, 10s. was paid for killing nine hedgehogs and seven polecats; and in 1723 Mr. Kent's man was paid 2s. for bringing six hedgehogs; 3s. 4d. for ten ditto; 2s. for two polecats.

A rather unfavourable state of things is shown by a complaint, in 1724, from the parish clerk, who says he cannot open the church doors as soon as necessary because the bread and books are stolen.

Thomas Bryan receives 1s. 6d. for carrying Silly Moll to Lambeth,—rather a small sum; but he gets better pay, viz., 5s., for clearing the parish of a Dutch woman.

In 1725 a plan of the manor was made. In 1728 a proposal was made to build a workhouse; and the warfare against hedgehogs continues, 11s. 4d. being paid for thirty-four; and in 1732, twenty-two more are killed as well as ten polecats.

In 1738 Mr. John Sharp proposed to take care of, and to provide good and proper physic and medicines for the parish poor, and perform all manner of surgeon's business that they might want, for 5 guineas *per annum*. This appears to be the first regular salary for a parish doctor, and it does not seem exorbitant.

In 1745 Mr. John Killick's proposal to build the workhouse for £161 was accepted. In 1750 we find the first notice of a fire-engine, for 20s. a year was allowed for the care of it, on condition that it be brought out and worked at least four times in the year. In 1760 Mr. Wm. Franks was chosen vestry clerk at £5 a year. Mr. Wm. A. Franks was till recently vestry clerk, but I believe on more liberal terms.

In 1800 we find the poor's rate to be 3s. in the pound, a serious sum, in consequence of the dearness of provisions. The Right Hon. William Pitt and most of the Cabinet Ministers honoured Mr. Samuel Thornton, at Clapham, with their presence to dinner. In 1803 the poor's rate rose to 4s. 6d.; and an armed association of the parish is found to consist of one troop of cavalry, two companies of infantry; the parish also to find ten men for the militia, and sixteen for the army of reserve.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 197.)

SATURDAY, 6TH SEPTEMBER 1884.

THE route was taken to-day for Gurfreston, where the church was entered, after passing the ruined mansion of Scotsborough without stopping. Here Mr. Lynam read a paper (printed already at pp. 289-295, and illustrated by the author with a series of very nicely executed drawings) dealing with the dates and details of the architecture. On the hill-side, below the church, there is one of the "holy wells" which are not infrequent in Wales.

St. Florence Church, the next halting-place, has another tower of the usual type (on the south side), curious columns, walls, and rough masonry arches. The date of the church is Early English, but the font is Norman. A stone which had been regarded as Ogham (*i.e.*, inscribed in perpendicular strokes and crosses above and below a horizontal line,—supposed to be one of the earliest forms of alphabetic characters) lies at the church; but Professor Westwood considers that the scratches are not Oghams, but probably characters the key to which had not been discovered.

The Rev. E. J. S. Rudd, M.A., Rector and Vicar, received the party; and the architecture was described by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Honorary Secretary*. The Rector gave some interesting and curious instances of parish lore, from the following notes prepared by Miss Bevan:

ST. FLORENCE, PATRON SAINT.

BY MISS BEVAN.

No less than seven saints of the name of Florence appear in the Romish Calendar, and it would be impossible to decide which of the seven can claim the honour of being the patron saint of the Pembroke-shire church, were it not for the infallible test of the village wake or feast. This takes place on the 29th of September, and allowing for the difference in Old Style and New Style, must originally have been held on October 10, which day in the Romish Calendar is observed as the Feast of "St. Florence, presbyter"; a saint who lived in the time

of the Emperor Constantine, was consecrated priest by St. Martin of Tours (?), and dying on October 10, was buried at Lyons.

Old Customs.—Within the last fifty years it was the custom in St. Florence for all the villagers, on Easter Day, to repair to a well called “The Pin-Well”, and throw a crooked pin into the water. This was called “throwing Lent away”. The field in which this well is situated is called “The Verwel.” *Verwelen* in Flemish signifies “to vault”, and it therefore seems probable that the “Pin-Well” was once covered by one of the barrel-vaulted roofs so common in Pembrokeshire.

It was also the custom on Lammas Sunday to build little houses on the Corse (by Betty Evans’), called “Lammas houses”. They were made of sods, reeds (*levrocks*), and sticks. A fire was lit inside, and apples roasted, people paying a penny to enter, and have a roasted one.

At the bottom of the street, near the brook, is a large, round, upright stone fixed in the ground. On the top, exactly in the centre, is a small round hole, and there is a saying that until you have put your finger in this hole you cannot say you have been in St. Florence.

On the day following the wakes, viz., the 30th of September, it was the custom to “carry the mayor” round the village, the *mayor* being the most recently married man in the village.

It is supposed, from the boundaries given, that St. Florence is identical with the “Trefin Carn” of the *Liber Landavensis*. There is still a place called “Carn” in the parish.

A remarkable old cottage, with one of the best examples of the so-called Flemish chimneys, already treated of by the Rev. W. O. B. Allen, was inspected.

The next object of examination was Carew Cross, with ancient interlaced patterns of ornamentation, just outside the Castle wall, commented on by Mr. Brock and Mr. E. Laws, the former reviewing the work of the British Archæological Association in obtaining information of similar relics which have now been found in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man.

Carew Castle is distinguished as presenting the true type of a mediæval fortress, flanked by two massive round towers with immense spur-buttresses. The story of the Castle is that it was granted to Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who recast the inner face of the west side in a rich form of late Perpendicular. On this side is the great hall, over the entrance to which are carved the arms of Henry VII. Mary granted the picturesque pile to Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who built the chambers in the north portion; but these were never completed. Sir John, it is thought, must also have added the shields, which bear the arms of the royal houses of France and Spain, over the entrance to the great hall.

The architecture was commented upon by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. There was, he said, Norman work to be seen ; but it had been enlarged and rebuilt in the fourteenth century. It was altered in the time of Henry VII, and again in the reign of Elizabeth. The Castle stands, as, indeed, most old castles do stand, on the site of an ancient (perhaps a prehistoric) fortress, succeeded by a Norman castle ; and this, again, in turn superseded by one of the Edwardian era, built on the usual plan of a parallelogram, with large circular towers at the corners. The Castle was remodelled in the time of Henry VII ; but the chapel is of Edwardian date, with the peculiar local vaulting, which still remains perfect.

Owing to the state of the weather, luncheon was served in the chapel instead of in the grounds of Carew Castle, by the kindness of the late Mr. Charles Allen, Q.C., the chapel being almost the only portion retaining a roof.

Carew Church and its detached chapel were then inspected. This place is intimately connected with St. David's, and is ascribed to Bishop Gower in the fourteenth century. Evidence of this is found in the fact that Gower's favourite ornament, the four-leaved flower, or *quatrefoil*, is found on the pier-arches. A very remarkable feature is the rich tracery of the chancel-windows. There are several sepulchral effigies, and in the chancel are some tiles bearing the arms of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and others the arms of the see of St. David's.

Subsequently, a visit was paid to Upton Castle, where Mr. H. Vanghan, whose recent death the Association has greatly to deplore, seconded Mr. Allen's hospitality by refreshment. He read a paper on the effigy in Upton Chapel, which has a Norman font and chancel-arch. This paper has been already printed at pp. 124-128. Here were exhibited a book containing notes by Milton, and a collection of Shakespearean books. The old hall of the Castle has been converted into a residence.

The evening meeting was held in the Town Hall, at 8.30, the Mayor presiding, and was devoted to Mr. Brock's paper dealing with "Historical Evidences of the Extent of the Ancient British Church", which has been printed at pp. 63-64.

Mr. E. J. L. Scott, M.A., of the British Museum, had prepared a paper relating to some unpublished MSS. in the Museum throwing light upon the mediæval history of Pembrokeshire ; but the paper was postponed. It was, however, read during the past session, and has been printed at pp. 153-175.

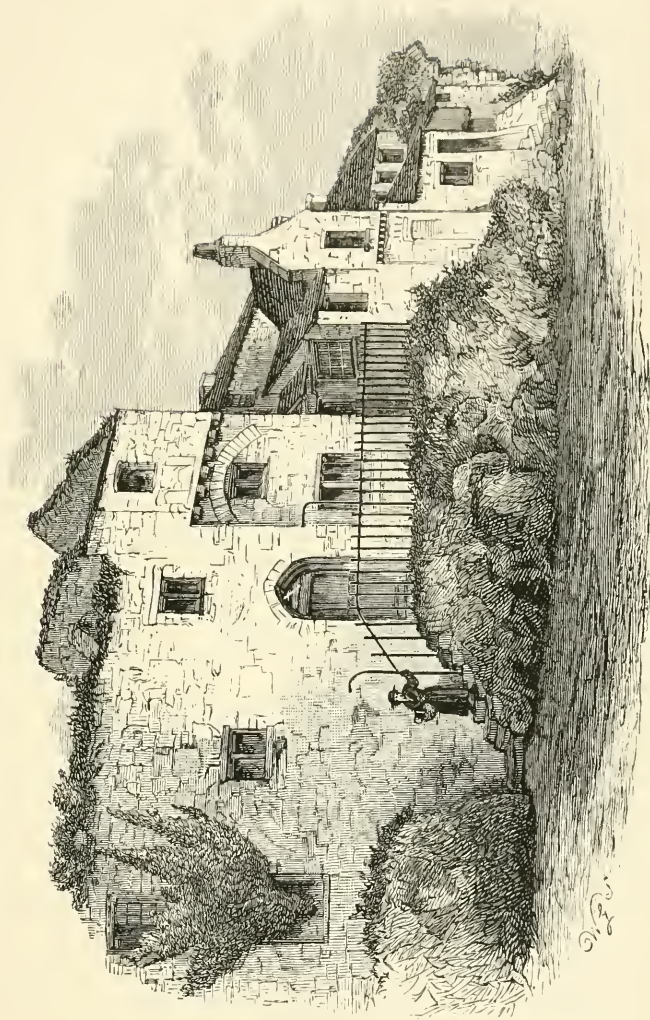
Mr. Laws submitted a copy of the inscription on the cross at Carew.

Mr. Birch promised to examine and report on the inscription. His paper has been read, and will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor and the reader of the paper terminated the proceedings.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH.

The party on Monday proceeded to Pembroke, and visited the ruins of the Castle, which stand at the end of the town, projecting into an estuary of Milford Haven. The remains are in the possession of Mr. J. R. Cobb of Brecon, who has a lease; and, as with some other castles in the district (notably Manorbier, visited last Thursday), that gentleman is sparing neither expense nor trouble in preserving in the best possible manner all the interesting points in and around it. Here, as at Manorbier Castle, he has done everything that the most conservative archæologist could desire; no rebuilding, but only support; repointing in places, and strengthening of weak parts. Mr. Cobb has published an excellent pamphlet descriptive of the Castle, and a good deal of light has been thrown upon the history. The Castle now consists of a building rising from the beach of the Pembroke River, where it is about 25 ft. from high water-mark, enclosing a cavern in a limestone cliff, and various chambers above it, from which extends a wall or enceinte with angle-towers. Entrance-towers on the south stand on the cliff-top on each side. The walls enclose nearly 4 acres, having a circumference of about 1,450 feet. The domed keep is on the west side of the centre. The whole structure occupies a promontory at the west end of the main street of the town, bounded by the Pembroke River and Monkton Pill on three sides, and is divided into two unequal wards by a ruined wall. It would, however, as Mr. Cobb points out, at once strike an observer that the whole is merely the western end of the almond-shaped area, enclosed by the town walls (portions of which were viewed by the party), although shut off from it. The Castle area is naturally divided into two parts; the enceinte of that nearest the town being formed and regular, the other irregular, and following the contour of the cliff. As a fortress, Pembroke Castle stands quite alone. The Castle was commenced in early Norman times (about 1094) by Arnulph de Montgomery, and afterwards granted by Henry I to Gilbert de Clare (Strongbow), Earl of Pembroke, by whom it was strengthened and extended; but there appears to be evidence that the place was used by the ancient British and the Romans. That the site was occupied by the Romans may be assumed from the numerous coins of Constantine and Carausius collected. Mr. Cobb found several. No Roman bricks or tiles, however, have been found. The lower part of the face-wall of the cavern, and of the ruined wall dividing the two wards, formed of a peculiar, open-jointed, herring-bone work, may safely be taken as pre-Norman. The wall, 6 ft. 3 ins. in width throughout, may now be



OLD HOUSE AT WEST GATE, PENBROKE.

easily traced from the east end of the western hall (where it is evident the original hall was plumb, but afterwards strengthened by an outer case with considerable batter), passing just south-east of the donjon to the prison tower (on the west side of which, where, recently uncovered, the peculiar masonry is most apparent), and right through the north hall to the cliff. This, with the remains of similar masonry near St. Ann's Bastion, is considered to be the earliest work extant. The Castle has sustained repeated sieges, has been twice burned, and at different times enlarged and repaired. It was here that, according to tradition, Henry VII was born in 1457. In the civil war the place was garrisoned for the Crown. It made a gallant defence; but when starved into capitulation, it was, by order of Parliament, dismantled. Nearly two hours were spent in and around the majestic pile; and at different points short comments were made by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, and others.

From the Castle the Congress party passed over the hill to the church at Monkton, which forms such a striking feature to the beholder. The edifice now used as the parish church consists only of a nave and entrance-porch. It is of twelfth century date, and has recently been restored at great expense and trouble. At the east end, cut off by a partition-wall, is the roofless ruin, the Monks' Church. The church was described by the Rev. David Bowen, M.A., the Vicar. It appeared from Mr. Bowen's statement that immediately prior to the recent restoration, the place was in a wretched condition. The party entered at the main porch, which Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock pronounced to be Norman. The font is a very fine piece of workmanship, the base being original. When the restoration work was being carried out, upwards of three hundred skulls were taken up, most of them lying at a depth of not more than 4 ft. below the floor, showing what a charnel-house the sacred edifice has been in years past. Prior to the new work, a beautiful effigy had been placed at the door as a step-stone. It was found, apparently, too long by the head, so that was knocked off. The bowl of the font was filled up with mortar, a stone slab placed over the top, and then above that was a common flower-pot, which had to do duty as the church fent.

Mr. Bowen deprecated the displeasure of the Association for his being about to remove the wall dividing the parochial from the monastic church,—a wall which is pierced in the centre of its base by a Norman arch, which is probably the oldest part of the building, and enriched on its southern side with a fresco of the fourteenth century, of which the fragmentary design appears to be a realistic picture of the Day of Judgment.

Mr. Brock showed how, in his opinion, the wish of the Vicar, and the necessity of seating a large congregation, could be obtained with-

out destroying the wall ; and Mr. Birch subsequently expressed a hope that the plan of restoration did not include the demolition of the surrounding ruins of the monastery ; but that some care would be taken to prevent further disintegration of the walls, which had formed a convenient quarry, in old days, to neighbouring cottage-builders, and would doubtless be filched from during the course of new works, unless the Vicar and churchwardens strictly forbade it. Mr. Birch also pointed out that an accurate plan of the buildings, including the church, would be valuable.

The remains of the Abbey and an old house (see accompanying woodcut, p. 310) were then examined.

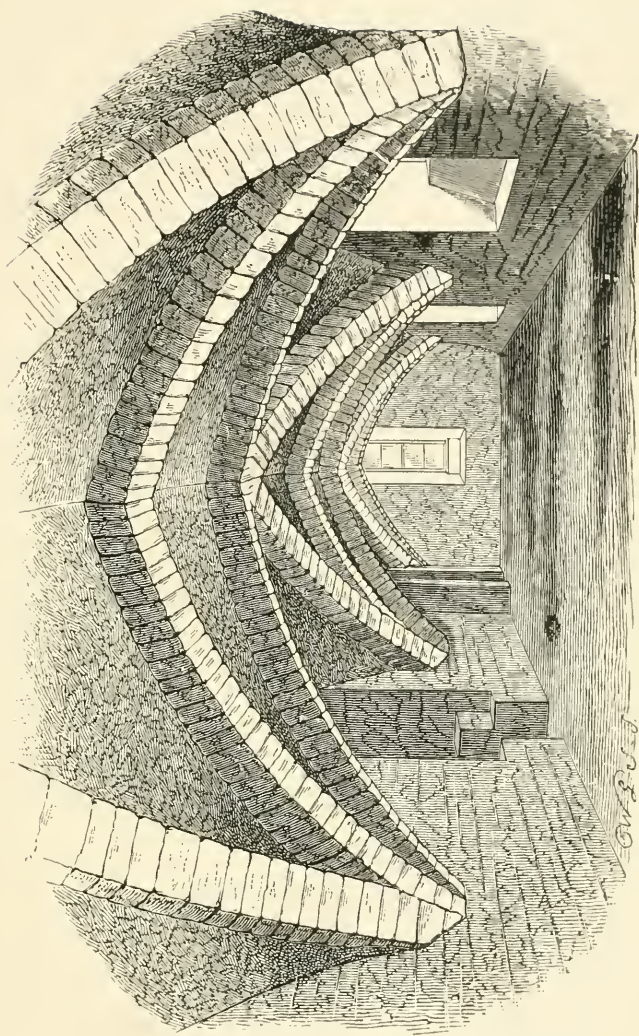
The basement of Monkton Hall, known as the Prior's Hall, or Old Hall, was inspected by permission of the Rev. Mr. Bowen. The original use of this Hall is uncertain. The side-walls are now plastered, and therefore the rubble-work is hidden. This building is a remarkable one, having many features locally characteristic ; most probably of fourteenth century date, but it may be older. It is now occupied by Mr. Bowen. (See Plate opposite.)

The party returned to Tenby in the afternoon.

EVENING MEETING.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held in the Town Hall at 8.30 P.M. The Mayor (Mr. W. H. Richards) presided, and there were present,—the Rev. G. Huntington, M.A., Rector ; Mr. E. Laws, *Hon. Local Sec.* ; Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Treasurer* ; Mr. W. de Gray Birch F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* ; Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* ; Mr. G. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Sec.* ; Mr. Cope, Mr. C. Allen, Mr. Herbert Allen, Dr. and Mrs. Reid, Mr. and Mrs. Walker, Mr. Walford, and a large number of other ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Birch read a paper on the Tenby Corporation charters, which were exhibited before the meeting. He remarked on the antiquity of charters, and the benefits obtained by such grants. Of the several Tenby charters on the table for inspection, the first granted was that of William de Valentia, Earl of Pembroke, and Johanna his wife. They excused the town, and exempted the burgesses, from various dues, such as stallage, poundage, etc., and also the inhabitants from arrest ; granted to the town certain rights of pasturage over lands and meadows in the township of Tenby, after the hay-harvest and gathering in of straw, until the Feast of the Purification ; and also granted to the burgesses a fair of three days' duration at the Feast of the Assumption. They also gave them the privilege of choosing two bailiffs from amongst their number. A fair in those days was a very important thing ; far more so than in these days. It enabled farmers, and any



BASEMENT CHAMBER, MONKTON HALL.

W. P. L. S.



one who had provisions to dispose of, to bring their goods for disposal; and it also enabled persons to attend the appointed place to lay in stores which otherwise they would have found difficult to get. This charter, which confirmed many other privileges, was unfortunately not in existence; but Queen Elizabeth, in one of her charters, states that she had inspected it, and it was confirmed by her; so that by the preservation of the charter of Queen Elizabeth (1581), Tenby would be really able to produce, if ever required in a court of law, evidence of a charter reaching back many hundreds of years previously. This charter of William de Valentia dated back to the reign of Henry III. The earliest original charter which the Corporation possesses was that of Jasper Tudor. He usually, and here also, calls himself brother and uncle of kings, etc. It was very much damaged. The charter inspected charters of preceding monarchs, and included the earlier one of William de Valentia. It is sealed with the seal of arms, at the Castle of Sudeley,—a place which had been visited by the British Archæological Association, and which Castle was then undergoing considerable repairs. The second charter, in point of antiquity, was that of Richard II. This was very beautiful, from the way it had been prepared. The work was executed in a way which the art of the present age, with all its resources, was unable to produce; and showed that, like building cathedrals, the present age had not only learned, but, on the other hand, had forgotten many things. This important charter was unfortunately very much decayed, as, unintentionally, some one with more zeal than discretion had written over the fading writing with common ink. It recited a charter of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and the name of the town in this charter is *Tembie*. The next was a nicely written deed of Edward IV's reign. It inspected a charter of Henry IV not now in existence. The charter of Queen Elizabeth had on it two seals: one was somewhat rare; and the other, the common seal, represented that Sovereign in a hoop-petticoat which is so large that very few ladies when dressed in the costume of "Queen Bess" would be able to stand in one room. This charter inspected all former ones, confirmed the grants contained, and declares the town a free borough, and incorporated it. The next charter was of James I. James was especially fond of reciting charters, as His Majesty apparently always had an idea that Corporations were trying to get the best of him; so he was always having their charters examined, and if he approved of them he regranted them, making certain additions, such as appointing a mayor, etc.; but if, on the other hand, they contained any clauses which the King thought encroached too much on his privileges, he would curtail them. The last charter granted to the town was that of William and Mary; but it contained nothing of importance, except that the illumination showed

great decadence of the art. Mr. Birch then drew attention to the different styles of ornamentation and penmanship in the several charters, and closed his remarks by stating that the Tenby charters were, on the whole, in a fair state of preservation; but seeing that the preservation of all ancient documents was one of the objects which the Association kept well before them, he impressed upon the Mayor the necessity of doing something at once to prevent further decay. He suggested that they could be placed between sheets of glass, and bound round with vellum, by which means they would be preserved from further decay. Exact copies should be made for inspection, as he considered that every burgess had a right to see the charters; but they should not handle them unnecessarily. He felt sure the Corporation (sensible, as he was certain they were, of the vital importance of these deeds to the well-being of their town) would see that something was done at once, so that these interesting documents might be preserved.

The Mayor said: "I am much obliged to Mr. Birch for the information given upon the ancient documents before us. The Corporation have, unfortunately, for some years past, and until quite recently, been unable to examine them, for various reasons which need not be mentioned; but now they are in our possession I hope they will long remain. The advice Mr. Birch has given us as to their preservation seems so very sound that I trust the Corporation will carry out his suggestions; and I hope, if only for this reason, that the visit of the Association will be beneficial to the town, by the interest shown in our ancient regalia and documents. I trust they will be treated as suggested by Mr. Birch, and by being taken care of will practically obtain a renewal of the lease of their existence. I trust the Corporation will take the hints to heart, and do their best to preserve their ancient charters."¹

Mr. Laws said that as attention had been drawn to the state of the charters, which were not quite as he should wish, and they had also heard that the regalia required looking into, he would draw attention to another subject of great interest. Among the old castles in the neighbourhood, certainly two of the most interesting were Manorbier and Pembroke, and they had been carefully put into order; but another was in a sad state. He alluded to Carew. The owner resided in Somersetshire, and had no great interest in the county, and in all probability knew nothing about it. He felt sure, if the condition of the Castle were presented to him; if it were shown that one tower fell last year, that some of the keystones of the arches had now fallen

¹ The Association will be glad to know that the result of these remarks is that the charters of Tenby have been carefully repaired and placed in a case, where they will be secure from any further injury or decay.

out, and that something ought to be done speedily to check any further destruction, he would willingly give his consent to the walls being put into a safe state, so that such an object of interest might be prevented from further decay. He therefore proposed that the Honorary Secretary be requested to write to Mr. Carew on the subject, and draw his attention to the state of the Castle. He thought, if a communication were made from the Secretary of the Association, steps would at once be taken to arrest further decay of the Castle.

Mr. Charles Allen, Q.C., in seconding the resolution, stated that he felt sure, if Mr. Carew would give permission and his countenance to the repair of the Castle, that the gentlemen of the county would be willing to subscribe for that object. He was sure there were many in the county who would be glad, if permitted and encouraged by the owner to do so, to do their part. It would be unfair, and almost hopeless, to expect a non-resident, although he owned a good deal of property in the county, to take upon himself the sole expense of repairing this Castle, or prevent it from further destruction. If Mr. Laws would add a rider to his resolution, and say that if the owner would support and encourage it, then a committee might be formed, or any other plan carried out, that might be thought best. Mr. Allen stated that he would willingly subscribe towards the work.

The Rector thought it best that the resolution as proposed by Mr. Laws should be forwarded to Mr. Carew. As to the falling away of the Castle, it was quite certain that if something were not done at once, the frosts of another winter would be the cause of other portions falling down.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, said the resolution did not in any way overdraw the picture. The damage done during the last few years by rain and frosts was so great that unless something were done speedily, further injury would result to the building. At the same time, all that was necessary to be done was to stop the cracks, prevent the wet getting in at the top of the walls, and to support those portions likely to give way. He thought £200 would more than pay for all that was wanted to be done.

The proposition of Mr. Laws was carried.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, in an appropriate speech proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor for the great assistance he had rendered to the Association from the first day when it was announced that they would hold their forty-first Congress at Tenby, and for his great kindness to the members during their visit, which he felt sure all would remember with pleasure.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., having seconded the vote, it was carried unanimously.

The Mayor said that when he first heard of the proposed visit of the

Association, he said that if he could be of any assistance, he would do everything in his power to make their visit a pleasant one. He only hoped that the members were as pleased with their visit as the inhabitants were. He thanked them sincerely for their very kind vote of thanks, and could only add that he was sure any one else in his place would have done their utmost to make the visit a successful one. He was very pleased to find that the route as originally mapped out by Mr. Laws, Mr. Wright, and himself, had been carried out almost in its entirety.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, at some length reviewed the proceedings of the Association during their visit, and referred to the many objects of interest viewed. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. E. Laws, the Local Hon. Secretary, for his great energy in connection with the Meeting; and for the excellent way in which he, in conjunction with the Mayor and their Hon. Congress Secretary, Mr. Wright, had mapped out the programme, which had been carried out without the slightest difficulty.

Mr. Cope having seconded the vote of thanks, it was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Laws having thanked the meeting for their kind reception of the expressions which had fallen from Mr. Morgan, said that when he first heard that the British Archæological Association were coming here, he was very much rejoiced, as he felt it would certainly do them good down here, and that the Association might probably see things which would very much interest them. He thought both had been satisfied, as they had thoroughly enjoyed themselves, and he believed the members of the Association had also done so. He felt convinced that the Congress would leave its mark behind. He had great hopes for Carew Castle, and also for Monkton, which they had that day visited, and which, as they knew, was a curious old church,—in fact it was two churches. He hoped their visit would be the means of saving the old wall which divided the two buildings, as although their excellent friend, Mr. Bowen, who wished to enlarge his church by destroying the wall dividing the two buildings, was to be commended for his zeal in wishing to extend his church in throwing both buildings into one, he hoped their visit would be the means of preventing the old wall being destroyed, which was the oldest part of the building.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock proposed a vote of thanks to the different clergymen who had given their assistance to the Association by opening their churches, viz., the Dean of St. David's, the Rev. Geo. Huntington, Rector of Tenby, and the other clergy whose churches they had visited.

Colonel Bramble seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

The Rector, in returning thanks on behalf of himself and the other clergymen mentioned in the resolution, said he was pleased at the kind manner in which the Association had responded to the wishes of the clergy of the county, and inspected the churches under their charge. Doubtless the clergy had learnt a good deal from the gentlemen who had visited Tenby during the week, and at the same time also thoroughly enjoyed themselves by being associated with the members of the Association. Personally, he did not think that during the sixteen and a half years he had been Rector of Tenby he had enjoyed himself more than he had during the past week. He believed one good result of their meetings would be to encourage the restoration of their churches in the true sense of that word, and not in the way some of them had been treated. The British Archæological Association had always encouraged the restoration of ancient buildings, but certainly not in the same light as that taken by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments. The latter Society objected to the removal of a gallery or other like excrescence in a church, simply because it was old, while at the same time it did not accord with the design of the original building. The visit of the Association would, he felt sure, do a great deal of good by encouraging true restorations, and so bring their churches back to what the founders originally intended they should be.

The Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to those gentlemen who had so kindly entertained the Association not only with food for the mind, but also for the body, and who had at such inconvenience placed residences at the disposal of the members. The vote was carried unanimously.

Mr. Charles Allen returned thanks.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, proposed a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had so kindly read papers at the meetings, which was also carried.

A vote of thanks to the Vice-Presidents and others by whose assistance the meetings had been carried to a successful issue, was responded to in a few suitable remarks by Mr. G. B. Hughes.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Wright, *Hon. Congress Secretary*.

Mr. Wright thanked the members for their kindness, after which he announced the programme for the extra days, and stated the arrangements made.

The Mayor, before closing the meeting, said there was one thing he wished to mention. The Association stated that the townspeople should be very proud of their ancient walls. He should say that some years ago, by the casting vote of the Mayor, the South-West Gateway was ordered to be demolished, when an old and respected inhabitant,

beloved by all classes, the late Dr. Chater, who was an alderman of the borough, stepped in and obtained an injunction restraining the Corporation from interfering with those walls. He considered it due to the memory of the deceased gentleman that he should mention these facts, so that honour might be rendered to whom honour was due.

The Congress party then broke up.

EXTRA DAYS.

TUESDAY, 9TH SEPTEMBER 1884.

Several members of the Association left Tenby this morning by train, at 10.30, for Narberth, to visit the Castle. The ruins of the Castle, though small, are picturesque; but from the outline of the walls that may be traced, it must at one time have been a large pile, extending on the ridge towards the town, and well calculated for defence, though exposed to attack. Fenton gives a detailed account of this building. A careful inspection of the ruins disclosed the fact that they were not treated with the attention that was necessary, and a resolution was passed calling the owner's attention to the fact, and suggesting that steps should be taken to have pointing and repairs carried out.

From Narberth the drive was continued to Llawhaden. The Castle here constitutes the *caput baroniale* by virtue of which the Bishops of St. David's sit in Parliament. Of late years, it is said, the fabric has been plundered to supply materials for repairing roads. To the Palace in its best days must have belonged every appendage of luxury, for even in Leland's time it had its forest of red deer (Llwydiarth), besides a park surrounding the Castle; to be traced by fragments of its wall, still seen in various places, and of excellent masonry, enclosing many acres of ground. The time of its first building is uncertain, but it is thought Thomas Beke was the principal contributor to its grandeur, as it seems to have been his most general and favourite residence. He had purchased lands in the neighbourhood, and most of his instruments are dated from Llawhaden. Bishop Hoton seems likewise to have had a great predilection for the place, and to have added much to the buildings. Bishop Vaughan was also, it is said, very partial to the place, and left, among other things, a proof of it in the beautiful chapel he re-edified. Bishop Gilbert is said to have made it his principal residence during his prelacy, and died there, as appears by his will, September 8, 1403. Fenton states that Bishop Barlow stripped the Castle and the Palace of St. David's of their leaden roofs, as well as all his other palaces of everything that could be converted into immediate profit, to furnish him, by the dilapidation he himself had

occasioned, with a plea for removing the see to Carmarthen. Archbishop Abbot, February 10, 1616, granted a licence to Bishop Milbourne to demolish the Castle, and also the hall, chapel, cellar, and bakehouse belonging to the Palace of St. David's: in short, to complete what Barlow had begun. But Milbourne's translation to Carlisle prevented this.

Here, again, it was pointed out that the place had not been well looked after; and on the motion of Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., seconded by Mr. Arthur Cates, F.S.A., it was resolved that the attention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should be called to its condition.

Progress was then made to Picton Castle, where the party was gratified with the hospitable reception they received, and with the grandeur of this palatial seat. The present representative is Mr. C. E. G. Philipps. A very hospitable entertainment was offered by Mr. Philipps in the grand hall, after which, addressing the party, he said the Castle was built in the reign of William Rufus, and was given by that King to one of the companions of Arnulph de Montgomery when he conquered Pembrokeshire.

Before the party left the hall a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. C. E. G. Philipps, whose health was also pledged, with that of his wife and family. The party arrived at Haverfordwest in the evening.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH SEPTEMBER.

The members taking part in the day's tour, started on Wednesday from Haverfordwest for St. David's. On the way, Roch Castle was visited, situate about midway between Haverfordwest and St. David's. It is a small building of great strength, and an admirable example of a fortified house of the thirteenth century.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave a short description of the place, and pointed out an interesting little chapel with moulding of a peculiar pattern, such as has been seen in many churches and other buildings in the district.

A very welcome and hospitable luncheon, prepared by the kindness of the Bishop, awaited the party at St. David's, under an awning erected within the grounds of Bishop Gower's Palace, nearly opposite the west front of the Cathedral. The Bishop, who presided, welcomed his guests, and explained the details of the structure within which they were assembled, showing that it was really double in every part except the kitchen, and that in its ground-plan it formed a letter L. The Bishop then led the members into the original chapel, the kitchen, and the great banqueting-hall, where they were able to admire the arcading and the rose-window; and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., drew

attention to certain structural arrangements of the roof when it was standing.

The members then attended afternoon service in the Cathedral, at the end of which they were escorted by the Dean, who has restored the northern aisle and other parts at his own cost. The nave, which is very extensive, has a floor of blocks of polished marble, and a roof of carved oak of the most beautiful workmanship. The floor has a considerable gradient, following the natural slope of the ground, the stone piers (at the head of each of which are different patterns of sculpture) lengthening as they proceed westwards. A similar feature is noticeable at the parish church of Castlemartin. The arcades of the nave have a considerable leaning outwards, especially in the case of that on the northern side; and the displacement is accounted for by an earthquake shock experienced in 1248, not long after the building was commenced. The Very Rev. James Allen, Dean, showed how the beautiful oak ceiling, put on four hundred years ago, exactly fills the space from north to south now, as it originally did; and if the lead is kept in good repair, he sees no reason to doubt that it will last another four hundred years. At the south end of a wide screen, built by Bishop Gower in the fourteenth century, is his tomb.¹ The choir occupies its original position. Farther to the east, the two arcades flanking the nave lean northward and southward. The view between the nave and chancel has recently been cut off by the erection of a large organ. This organ owes its unfortunate position to Sir Gilbert Scott. The whole of the eastern part of the church is extremely interesting. The extreme end is lit by a very fine three-light window, which was presented to the church by the late Rev. Mr. Lucy, Rector of Hampton Lucy, a descendant of Dr. William Lucy, Bishop of St. David's in the reign of Charles II. Amongst the figures represented is that of St. David, where, in one case, he is shown feeding the hungry, and in the other comforting those who had renounced the Pelagian heresy at Llanddewi Brefi. The roof of the chancel has been recently decorated with colour.²

At the conclusion of the Dean's address a vote of thanks to him was moved by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, and seconded by Mr. E. Walford, who claimed the right of speaking with some interest as having spent, forty years before, a long vacation at St. David's in company with the present Bishop, and who congratulated the Dean and Chapter on the conservative character of the restorations thus far effected.

¹ For woodcut, see p. 34.

² For notices of other details of the Cathedral, see Rev. S. M. Mayhew's paper, pp. 28-42.

THURSDAY, 11TH SEPTEMBER.

The members of the party proceeded, under the guidance of Edward Laws, Esq., to St. David's Head, and examined the cromlech, stone circles, stone avenues, and early fortifications. Afterwards they returned to St. David's, by the ruins of St. Justinian's Chapel on the sea-shore, and the Quadrangular Camp nearer to the city.

The return to Haverfordwest, by carriages, took place in the afternoon, thus bringing the forty-first Annual Congress of the Association to an agreeable and successful termination.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Ancient Sepulchral Discoveries at Winchester.—The site of the Star Inn, now being excavated by Messrs. Hughes, builders, prior to the erection of larger structures for Mr. Giles Pointer, has afforded a quantity of ancient memorials of Caer Gwent, or Wintonia, ranging from the ancient Britons, through Roman Britain, down to mediæval times. Some time since the excavations brought to light a splendid Samian bowl and small cup. Under the soil which afforded these relics of imperial Rome, the excavators came upon a series of five graves, or oblong cists, dug in the clay soil, and these were carefully investigated by Mr. F. J. Baigent, the Mayor (W. T. Warren, Esq.), and others. The grave on the west (they all lay north and south) was under the cellar of the inn; and possibly, when the brewer laid his floor in the last century, he came across it, and made an even floor by filling the grave with small flints. The other graves afforded remains of several bones of children, young persons, and full grown individuals. The position of the bones indicated burial in a crouching position. A Roman coin was found in one of the graves; but this fell, perhaps, from the superincumbent soil, as perhaps also the nails and one or two portions of bronze fibulæ. A well-wrought whetstone or hone, perforated, was found, and part of a rougher one. Above the graves a jug was found, nearly perfect. It is one of the Bellarmine or Greybeard types of pottery, made in the Low Countries in vast numbers, in ridiculous commemoration of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, the persecutor of the reformed religion in the days of Elizabeth; and the face is a caricature of the Cardinal with his long beard. A skeleton of a fowl was found in two of the graves. Bones of oxen, sheep,

and goats, were abundantly manifest, as also the shells of the oyster. More recently several articles were exhumed of the Roman period; and under a large urn, unhappily broken, were found a Roman coin and a small and elegant vase of reddish ware, which had evidently been burnt in the cremation of the body; for it was encrusted with a metallic hue, as if burnt near some ornaments; and the gravel and metal completely cover the vase, so that it cannot be removed. Close by were fragments of a Roman glass vessel.

Discovery of supposed early Wood-Carvers' Tools near Kirkwall.—Recently W. Mowat of Howe, Evie, Orkney, when cutting peats on ground about a mile and a half south-west of his farm, found embedded, at a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet beneath the peat-moss, a box containing some interesting relics. The box, which is cut out of a solid piece of beech-wood, measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in length by $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 3 deep. The lid, sides, and one of the ends have been richly carved, each with a different pattern of scroll-work. The lid, the whole of which has not been secured, seems to have been a sliding one, being pushed in from the carved end of the box, under a metal band, through grooves in the upper inside edge of the sides. When found, the box was standing on end, upon the sub-soil under the peat, and contained what seem to have been the tools of a wood-carver (packed in a material too far decayed to be preserved, resembling fine straw), the handles of which alone remain to tell the tale. There are about fourteen of them, made of horn, bone, deer's horn, and wood, some of them evidently carrying a blade at each end. The box also contained two awls, one made from a tine of deer's horn, and the other of bone with a large rounded head, and a piece of pumice-stone rubbed smooth on all sides. In the sides of the box are small holes, through which thongs of leather have been inserted, and fixed inside by being tied; the other ends evidently intended for tying across the top of the lid. There were two or three small pieces of thin leather also found in the box. The whole has been secured by Mr. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot., for his collection of Orcadian antiquities.

Ancient Ring found at Cottingham.—Our Vice-President, Mr. John Evans, P.S.A., sends the following note on the ancient ring figured at p. 234: "In the last Number of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* is a short notice of the *Hull Quarterly and East Riding Portfolio*, illustrated by two woodcuts of a curious ring found at Cottingham Castle. It is said to be apparently of wood, and to have an inscription upon it in what have been conjectured to be old Hebrew or Phœnician characters. The reviewer has, however, suggested that they may belong to the ancient Cypriote syllabary. Not

having seen the original, it is difficult for me to judge of the antiquity of the ring. There can, however, be no question as to the nature and meaning of the inscription. It is in the old Hebrew or so-called Samaritan character, and reproduces, almost letter for letter, the inscription so common on the coins supposed to have been struck during the first revolt of the Jews, *לחרות ירושלם* (*Lacheruth Jerusalem*), 'The Deliverance of Jerusalem', the only letter omitted being a *vav*, ם. Woodcuts of these coins can be seen in Madden's *Jewish Coinage*;¹ and even those who are utterly unacquainted with the old Hebrew character cannot fail to see the identity between the letters on the coins and those on the ring. It is hard to condemn an object unseen; but the accordance of the inscriptions on objects of such totally different characters as a finger-ring, apparently of wood, and coins of metal (the one found in a mediæval moat, and the others belonging to the first century of our era), is sufficient to inculcate caution. The device on the bezel of the ring has much the appearance of having been copied from the *Ethrog* on a shekel of Simon.² If really genuine, the ring is a remarkable relic."

Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold in the County of Somerset. By C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A., and Rev. H. G. TOMKINS, Hon. Local Sec. of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Preparing for issue by subscription.—Worlebury, by the general consent of all competent archæologists who are acquainted with its remains, is regarded as one of the most instructive primitive fortresses existing in the British Isles. Since the year 1851, when the late Rev. F. Warre commenced his exploration of the pits, this camp has received much attention from antiquaries on account of its value as a comprehensive example of barbaric military skill. But hitherto little has really been known of many of the facts of its arrangement and structure; and speculations, if numerous, have not always been sound. With a strong conviction that the whole subject stood much in need of review, the authors, as a needful preliminary, undertook an entirely fresh and laborious exploration, extending over several months, including a new survey of the whole of the remains. During the progress of this inquiry many new facts were discovered, which, while forming a trustworthy basis for theory, at the same time demolished some old and erroneous assumptions.

The work now proposed to be issued is the outcome of this investigation. It will embrace a description, as complete as can now be written, of the design and structure of the camp, together with a classified account of all the best analogues of its various features that can be

¹ P. 170 *et seqq.*

² Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

gathered from accessible sources, introduced with a view of aiding the interpretation of several problems presented for solution. A *résumé* of the published accounts of the excavation of the pits will be given in a newly arranged form, with additional original contributions, accompanied, it is hoped, by a special report on the osteology and craniology of the camp, and other useful matter. The whole will be illustrated by views of the fortress, a general map of its site and environs, an elaborate plan of the works from the new survey, sections of the hill, detailed plans, sections, and elevations of the principal parts of the structure, plans and views of some of the pits, drawings of pottery, weapons, ornaments, and other objects found, and lithographs or photographs of the most remarkable skulls.

The volume will be medium 4to., with about twelve plates. Subscription price, 12s. 6d. As very few copies will be struck off in excess of those subscribed for, subscribers should send their names to C. W. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A., 3 Forefield Place, Lyncombe Hill, Bath.

The History of the Church of Manchester from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, compiled from Ancient Documents and Authentic Records.

By the Rev. ERNEST F. LETTS, M.A., Precentor and Minor Canon of the Cathedral, Manchester. (Manchester: Abel Heywood and Son, 56 and 58 Oldham Street.)

—Since the appearance of Dr. Hibbert Ware's valuable work, *Foundations in Manchester*, some eighty years ago, so much additional light has been thrown upon local history by the publication of the national records and state papers, the printing in facsimile of the *Dom Boc*, the labours of the Harleian, Camden, Chetham, and other learned Societies, besides the laborious manuscript compilations of the late Rev. Canon Raines, the editing of the Court Leet Records, and the researches of local antiquaries, that little excuse is needed for introducing to the public a fresh history of the Church of Manchester. The lore of "Th' Owd Church" is so extensive, its interest so permeates Manchester life, that it is felt that a new



Seal of William Heiworth, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1422.

The lore of "Th' Owd Church" is so extensive, its interest so permeates Manchester life, that it is felt that a new

record of its remarkable history will be welcomed by all classes. The work will be published by subscription, and will be issued in four volumes, large quarto, half Roxburgh and white buckram, gilt tops, and will contain the history of a period complete in each part. The cost of each volume, bound, will be 15*s.*, on delivery, thus greatly diminishing the expense of the work. The first volume is expected to be ready very shortly.



Warden Colliery's House, Corner of Deangate and Cateaton Street, Manchester.

The History of the Church of Manchester will contain a full account of the early church in this district, the Dom Boc, the Saxon and Norman occupation, the early Barons of Manchester, the Rectors, Bishop Heworth, the collegiation and charters, the Wardens and Fellows, the noble, knightly, and gentle families connected with the Collegiate Church; the fabric, its altars, chantries, chapels, screens, windows, stalls, brasses, monuments, bells, plate, and other ornaments; its Registers; the Reformation, Plague, Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Georgian era, the founding of the episcopal see, the Bishops, Deans, and Canons, the "Rectory Divisions' Act", and the latest restorations, with full lists of the clergy, officers, etc.

Many full-page illustrations, printed in colours and illuminated, will be given in the work, representing the architecture, heraldry, and monuments of the Cathedral. There will also be several photolithographs of the more important documents, besides portraits of the

chief dignitaries, seals, maps, plans, and other matters of interest. A large number of woodcuts, representing every detail and object worthy of attention, will also be found in the letterpress; and no pains will be spared to make the work a full and truthful record of the past.

The Charters of the Borough of Andover, and Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation.—It is well known that in many of our English towns valuable records are in the possession of the authorities, and that in many cases these records are being copied, translated, and published. In this way these invaluable documents are not only preserved from loss or decay, but are made available to readers and students of history and archæology. Among others, the Corporations of Winchester and Salisbury are taking this public-spirited course. The ancient town and borough of Andover is richer than most Corporations in such historical treasures. In the muniment-chest is preserved a series of documents extending almost without interruption from the time of King John to the present day. It is felt that Andover should not be behind other towns in giving the reading public the benefit of its exceptional advantage, especially as amongst the documents are many throwing light on the most interesting subject of the merchant guilds, and illustrating in a remarkable manner the relationship of these guilds to municipal governments. A generous donation by the late Mayor, H. Hammans, Esq., has rendered such an undertaking possible. In 1836 the Corporation had their muniments examined by W. Tetheridge, Esq., who, in his admirable Report, made in 1837, recommended that copies and translations of the charters should be made. It is proposed, in the first place, to carry out this recommendation, and to print copies and translations of the charters given by various monarchs to the town. To this will be prefixed a short and popular history of the parish of Andover, by the Rev. C. Collier, M.A., F.S.A. The work will be edited by the Rev. C. Collier and the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, and will be published, if sufficient subscribers are found, in an octavo volume, at the price of 10s. 6d.

Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. J. C. Holmes, *Andover Advertiser* Office, High Street, Andover.

Fac-similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe. By Rev. W. FRED. GREENY, M.A., Vicar of St. Michael-at-Thorn, Norwich.—In England there are more than four thousand of these memorials, while on the Continent there are probably not two hundred remaining. But many of these Continental brasses are grand as to their dimensions, and luxuriously rich in diapered backgrounds, and in architectural, heraldic, and other details. The examples in the book are from Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Poland, Silesia, Bavaria, Switzer-

land, Holland, Belgium, France, and Spain. The work contains seventy-three pages of descriptive letterpress and an introduction, to which is appended a list of eighty-six brasses not pictured in the work.

This is the only work of the kind that has been published in England or on the Continent. The price at present is £2 10s., not including carriage; and as only a limited number of copies has been printed, the price will most likely be increased. Imperial folio. To be had by applying to the author at Norwich.

Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral Church of Hereford. By REV. FRANCIS T. HAVERGAL, M.A., Prebendary of Colwall in Hereford Cathedral, and Vicar of Upton Bishop. With Illustrations by Robert Clarke. (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 4 High Town.) Price, 21s.—In this work an attempt is made to record all existing inscriptions in the Cathedral and its churchyard; also to collect from all sources epitaphs no longer remaining. In all cases copies have been taken from the original stones by the author's own hands. This has been attended with great difficulty in consequence of the decayed state of many stones, or the unskilful repainting of numerous tablets. Doubtless there have been many other inscriptions destroyed at various times, of which no record remains. This remark applies not only to ancient stones, but to many placed in the churchyard within the last hundred years. The following order of arrangement, which was deemed the simplest, has been adopted: 1, epitaphs of the Bishops of Hereford; 2, epitaphs of the Deans of the Cathedral; 3, all others in alphabetical order. A description of the monuments is occasionally, but not generally, given; otherwise this work would be largely increased. Notes are added stating facts worthy, it is hoped, of permanent record. The illustrations consist chiefly of heraldic remains and other monumental objects of antiquarian interest. Three ground-plans have been prepared, which indicate the present positions of all the important monuments and epitaphs.

The Sarcophagus of Anchnesraneferab, Queen of Ahmes II, King of Egypt. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A. (London: Whiting and Co. 1885.)—No doubt a time will come when the very great collection of antiquities of all nations, which are stored up in the British Museum, will be all thoroughly well described by the custodians, and understood by those who take an interest in them. We have seen lately how rich the British Museum is in literature and relics appertaining to the Reformers Wycliffe and Luther; and at the present moment the special exhibition of MSS. illustrating the history of music and musical instruments indicates how large a share of information on these matters can be contributed by our national collections. The gallery of ethno-

graphical objects, the approaching completion of which is being eagerly looked forward to by all archæologists and anthropologists, will probably be second to none in the world. The gallery of Egyptian antiquities is certainly unsurpassed by any European collection.

Mr. Budge, in the book before us, has essayed to explain and illustrate one object alone out of this vast number; but that is an important one. Whether we look to the remoteness of the period (B.C. 564-526), of which it is a memorial, or to the marvellous skill which was required to hew out of the solid, hard marble, with insignificant tools such as a mason would reject with derision now-a-days, a cist measuring 8 ft. 6½ ins. long by 3 ft. 9 ins. wide, and 3 ft. 6½ ins. high, and to decorate it with elegantly drawn figures of deities in a low kind of incisement, and upwards of 500 long lines of hieroglyphics, which completely cover it, both inside and out, we are at once struck with admiration for the arts and sciences of the people who could produce so magnificent a monument of their intellectual greatness and of their profound acquaintance with all the arts which the relic incidentally throws light on.

An elaborate system of theology such as the ancient Egyptians are known to have cultivated, would naturally have some such outcome as the rich sarcophagus which forms the subject of the present work. Gorgeous and intricate, mystical and recondite as the Egyptian ceremonies and ritual are, the immortality of the soul was breathed in every detail and in every sentence.

For an excellent account of the part played in the history of his country by Amasis, or Ahmes, and his Queen Anchnesraneferab, we must refer the reader to Mr. Budge's preface. His book partakes of two aspects: 1, the critical and literary, which deals with the accurate reproduction of the sculptured texts of several chapters from the ancient liturgies of the dead, and other sources, containing a large store of new material for the philologist and antiquary; and 2, the educational, which by means of its interlinear transliteration of the hieroglyphics into Roman type, its translation, and its vocabulary of words, especially appeals to the student and beginner. Hence there can be little doubt that the mature scholar and the tyro will equally appreciate the publication of the work. Mr. Budge, in turning his attention to Egyptology, has selected a worthy career, that will in time bear good fruit towards the advancement of the study which, if it has hitherto had but few votaries, is now beginning to become more popular, and to be more accurately estimated as a first-rate means of gaining an insight into the philosophy of the ancient world. We can justly recommend the work to those who desire to gain some knowledge of the formation of the language, and its comparative place among the languages of the world, even if their present acquaintance with

Egyptian history and antiquities is of the smallest. At the same time, to those who have the divine faculty of reading between the lines, there are boundless stores of hidden wealth which will beguile many a weary hour, and illuminate many a dark and mysterious passage in our Holy Writ.

The author records with gratitude the kindness and help he has experienced at the hands of our honorary member, Dr. Samuel Birch, the Nestor of Egyptology; Mr. Le Page Renouf, one of the most illustrious expounders of Egyptian philology; and our Associate, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A. Messrs. Whiting, the publishers, deserve a word of praise for the appearance of the book.

Le Havre d'Autrefois: Reproductions d'anciens Tableaux, etc., se rattachant à l'Histoire de cette Ville. Texte par CHARLES RÖSSLER. Publié sous la Direction de M. ALEXIS GUISLAIN LEMALE. (Havre. Large folio. 1883.)—M. Lemale and our Associate M. Rössler have produced in this work an exhaustive account of the important town of Le Havre from the earliest period to the present day. The immense number of pictures, portraits, engravings, sculptures, plans, views, and sketches which they have been so fortunate as to secure for the well executed illustration of this beautifully printed book, testifies to the indefatigable assiduity of these gentlemen in the prosecution of their task. We may unhesitatingly admit the proposition laid down at the beginning of the preface: “L’histoire d’une ville n’est pas écrite seulement dans les livres; elle l’est aussi dans ses monuments, dans les vestiges qu’elle a laissés de son passé, dans les gravures, dans les dessins qui reproduisent son aspect d’autrefois et les faits les plus saillants de ses annales.” Many of these illustrations are derived from unique originals. They are described in a charming and erudite manner, which leaves nothing to be desired, by M. Rössler, who has brought a vast store of knowledge to bear upon the history of his town. The arrangement of the subjects is indicated by a catalogue, and a chronological Table further elucidates the nature of the contents.

The compilers of similar works, descriptive of English towns, may profitably take a lesson from *Le Havre d'Autrefois*, which, for the liberal quantity and remarkable accuracy of its reproductions, great amount of useful information of local interest, and elegance of *ensemble*, will hold its own victoriously against anything of the kind which has been lately issued among us here. We congratulate MM. Lemale and Rössler on the result of their labours. They have built up for Havre a literary monument which reflects honour upon themselves; and their book is one of which France, noted for luxurious editions, may well be proud. It should certainly find a place of distinction in many English

libraries, and no lovers of topographical antiquities will regret the acquisition of so attractive a volume.

Discovery of a Statue in the Tiber.—*The Standard* records that on Saturday, Sept. 19th, a bronze statue was found in the bed of the Tiber. Not far from the northern point of the island a caisson has been sunk in the river for one of the piers of the new Regola Bridge. After the water had been pumped out, the men began to excavate, and 6 feet below the bed of the river they struck upon some hard substance. Explorations were carefully made, and presently a bronze statue was found standing on its head. It was extracted from the bed of the stream, and carried to the workshops of the Palatine, and is now in the act of being cleaned and repaired by Signor Pietro Pennelli, the artist who has so skilfully repaired and put in order two bronze statues recently found on the Via Nazionale.

The new statue represents the youthful Bacchus. It is 5 ft. 6 ins. high. The right foot is broken off just above the ankle, and the staff held in the left hand is also broken; but as all the pieces were found, there will be no difficulty in restoring it. The head, very expressive, and finely chiselled, is crowned with a wreath of ivy leaves and berries. The eyes are of enamel, but they are damaged. The details of the hair, the exquisite mouth, and the delicate nose and nostrils, all mark this statue as a Greek work. The top of the staff, or thyrsus, is ornamented with a pine-cone. The staff was sustained by the elevated left hand. The right arm droops gracefully by the side, the fingers of the hand being slightly clenched. The limbs are light and delicate, such as one would expect in the Theban or youthful Bacchus, whose figure was wrought to the perfection of ideal beauty by the master-hand of Praxiteles.

The Hull Quarterly and East Riding Portfolio. Edited by W. G. B. PAGE. Vol. ii. (Hull, 1885.) The second and concluding volume of this interesting periodical, which we regret to see will not be continued, maintains the useful character of the first. Among the articles with valuable bearings on antiquarian subjects are the following:—"Ancient Britons and the Lake-Dwelling at Ulrome", by T. M. Evans, President of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society; "Durham", by M. W. Whitfield, M.A.; "Early Halifax", by W. Clucas; "The Monastic Institutions of Hull and its Vicinity", by J. J. Sheaham; "The History of the Charterhouse, Hull", by J. Cook,—concluded from vol. i; "Some Ancient Crosses of Holderness", by T. Tindall Wildridge, with illustrations of those at Swine, Keyingham, Atwick, Nunkeling, Whitecross, Hornsea, and Brandsburton; and "Hull during the Siege", by Edw. Lamplough. Mr. Page has done his editorial

work well, and the result is that the book will be certainly in demand, not only in the neighbourhood of Hull, but pretty generally among the class of readers who look for records of old times to be put before them in an attractive form. We hope he may be enabled to reverse his decision of suspending the work, and determine to go on with it. Mr. Page is, we are glad to observe, preparing a work on the Booksellers' Signs of London, from the earliest times, which will contain the names of the occupiers of the shops, and biographical notices of the booksellers. This is a work which has always enjoyed a wide interest, and in Mr. Page's hands we may rest assured that it will be treated appropriately.

Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. By Dr. S. JOHNSON.—Mr. Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, has made a very elegant reprint of the first edition, published in 1759. It is prefaced by an introduction by Dr. James Macaulay, who has also furnished a bibliographical list of editions of the work published in England and abroad.

A Popular History of the County of Norfolk. By WALTER RYE, author of *The Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, *Handbook of Norfolk Topography*, etc., etc. (London: Elliot Stock.)—*The Popular History of Norfolk* is the first volume issued in Mr. Stock's series of county histories. The volume is one of unusual attraction to Norfolk men, and those who are connected with the county whose story it tells. New features are brought out in the course of its narrative from the earliest times, and fresh light is thrown on the manners, customs, civic life, ecclesiastical struggles, social progress, dialect, and folk-lore of our forefathers in this part of the country. The work, though written in a popular, narrative style contains valuable historical information derived from original sources, and brings to light points of interest to the resident as well as the student, which have hitherto been unknown or never before put in so accessible and readable a form.

The name of Mr. Walter Rye, whose various works on the county of Norfolk are well known and esteemed, is a sufficient guarantee that the volume is not only a readable one, but in all its details reliable and efficient. The contents indicate the scope and character of the work. They are:—Norfolk before the Normans—The Norman Conquest—Results of the Conquest—Persecutions and Risings—The Norfolk of Elizabeth—Norfolk's Part in "The Eastern Association"—Later History—The old Peasant Life—Gentler Life—Town Life—Monks and the Friars—Towns—Watering-Places and Coast-Line—Broads and Marshes—Superstitions, Folk-Lore, and Dialect.

The History of the Town and Parish of Wrexham. By A. N. PALMER, F.C.S., of Wrexham.—*The History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the*

Marches of North Wales, already published by Mr. Palmer, is the introductory essay to a series of pamphlets which it is proposed to issue relating to the history of Wrexham. The second number of the series will appear, it is hoped, in the summer of 1886, and the remaining numbers follow duly at intervals of about a year. The pamphlets will be arranged in two groups; those of the first group dealing with the history of the town of Wrexham, and those of the second with the history of all the country townships included in the ancient parish of the same. Each pamphlet will correspond in size of page and form of type with every other, so that when complete the series may be bound and form two uniform volumes. Should the author be unable to finish the work he has begun, those pamphlets which may be actually issued, each complete in itself, can be regarded as distinct works. A full index will subsequently be supplied. The information which in this series of pamphlets will be presented has been sought in sources such as deeds, wills, surveys, registers, rate-rolls, and other authentic documents; and the writer ventures to appeal to those who possess such documents (and most owners of property have at least title-deeds) to allow him to examine them. These documents, the number of which yearly diminishes, are valuable depositories of local history, and seldom fail to yield results which should be interesting to the possessors of them.

The principal contents of the *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham* are: History of the Structure, and an Account of Incidents connected therewith—Other Sites in Wrexham having an ecclesiastical Significance—History of the Vicars of Wrexham—List of the Curates of Wrexham down to 1830—Extracts from the Parish Registers, together with a Series of Monographs on important Welsh and English Families on whose History the Registers of Wrexham throw light—Extracts from the Vestry-Books and Churchwardens' Accounts—Copies or Abstracts of Inscriptions on the more important Monuments, existing or destroyed, in Church, Churchyard, and old Cemetery.

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British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1885.

THE CROSSES AT ILKLEY.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read Jan. 2, 1884.)

PART III.—CONCLUSION.

Celtic Stonework.—In Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language* are figured and described one hundred and seventy-nine tombstones in the form of cross-slabs, with inscriptions, existing in the cemetery of Clonmacnois, in King's Co., Ireland. Eighty-one of the names on these stones have been identified, and their dates ascertained by historical evidence contained in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the *Chronicon Scotorum*, and other authorities. The earliest dated tombstone at Clonmacnois is that of Columban, who was Abbot of that place, and died in A.D. 628;¹ and the latest is that of Thomas, Bishop of the same place, who died in A.D. 1278.² Thus we possess a reliable record of Irish art as exhibited in sepulchral monuments of the people during over a period of six hundred and fifty years. The number of slabs dated by historical evidence, belonging to each century, is as follows:—seventh century, four; eighth, six; ninth, twenty-eight; tenth, eighteen; eleventh, eighteen; twelfth, six; thirteenth, one: total, eighty-one.

The Monastery of Clonmacnois was founded by St. Ciaran in A.D. 544, so that the slabs belonging to the first

¹ Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. i, Pl. I.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. 68.

eighty-four years, between 544 and 628, either do not exist, or do not bear names which enable them to be identified. Out of the eighty-one slabs whose age is known, only twenty-six are decorated with the typical forms of Celtic geometrical ornament; but these are quite sufficient to show the development of the art of design at this period.

The earliest dated slab bearing any kind of Celtic geometrical ornament upon it is the tombstone of Tuathgal, Abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in 806.¹ The ornament consists of a Greek fret round the cross. The earliest example of a spiral pattern is upon the tombstone of Suibine Mac Maellhumai, the celebrated scholar of Clonmacnois, who died in A.D. 887.² The earliest example of interlaced work is upon the gravestone of Tuathchar, Bishop of Clonmacnois, who died in A.D. 889.³ It ought here to be mentioned that although the last two slabs which have been described are the earliest examples of spirals and interlacements at Clonmacnois, there exists at Tullylease, Co. Cork, the tombstone of St. Berechtir, who died in A.D. 839, presenting all three of the characteristic forms of Celtic ornament, namely key-patterns, spirals, and interlacements. The table below gives the dated slabs with Celtic ornament at Clonmacnois, arranged in chronological order. K. stands for key-pattern, S. for spiral, I. for interlacement. The Nos. of the plates refer to Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*.

Plate

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|-----|---|------|------------|
| 12. | Tuathgal, seventh Abbot of Clonmacnois. | 806. | K. |
| 38. | Conaing, Prince of Teffia. | 823. | K. |
| 30. | St. Berechtir of Tullylease. | 839. | K., S., I. |
| 31. | Suibine the Scholar. | 887. | K., S. |
| 35. | Tuathchar, Bishop of Clonmacnois. | 889. | I. |
| 36. | Moengal, Prior of Clonmacnois. | 873. | S., I. |
| 37. | St. Fiachra of the Little Church. | 921. | K., I. |
| 39. | Maeltuile, Lector of Clonmacnois. | 921. | K., S. |
| 41. | Colman, Abbot of Clonmacnois. | 924. | K., S. |
| 43. | Maclmoicheirge, Oeconomus of Clonmacnois. | 927. | K., S. |
| 44. | Uallach the Poetess. | 932. | K. |
| 46. | Gnaire, Priest of Clonmacnois. | 943. | K. |
| 52. | Retan, Chief Priest of Clonmacnois. | 955. | I. |

¹ Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. i, Pl. 12.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. 35.

Plate

51. Muirgus, Prince of Ui Maine. 985. I.
 53. Maelfinnia, Abbot of Clonmacnois. 991. K., I.
 53. Odran the Scribe. 994. I.
 54. Flannchad, Abbot of Clonmacnois. 1002. S.
 57. Maelfhatraic, Priest of Clonmacnois. 1028. K.
 58. Cosrach, Bishop of Clonfert. 1040. K.
 61. Maelfinnia, Abbot of Clonmacnois. 1056. S.
 61. Conn, Head of the Culdees. 1059. S.
 60. Fogartach the Anchorite. 1066. I.
 62. Maelehiaran, son of Conn. 1079. S.
 62. Gillachrist, son of Conn. 1085. K., S.
 63. Maelehiaran the Scholar. 1101. K., S.
 63. Maelemaire the Scribe. 1106. K., S.

Ornament is but sparingly used on the cross-slabs given in the above table, except in the cases of the tombstones of Conaing, St. Berechtir, Suibine, St. Fiachra, Maeltuile, and Maelmoicheirge, which are more elaborate. The tombstones of St. Berechtir (839), Suibine (887), and St. Fiachra (921), may be looked upon as landmarks in the history of Celtic ornament, because, being the memorials of eminent men, their date has been ascertained beyond a doubt, and the high art-qualities that they exhibit show that this kind of sculpture had attained the greatest excellence about the end of the ninth century. There is only one slab at Clonmacnois with conventional scrolls of foliage upon it,¹ and this is not dated.

Celtic art in stonework, in its highest development, is to be found, not on the memorial slabs, but upon the magnificent, free-standing crosses which exist in connection with many of the most celebrated religious sites in Ireland, and are believed by Miss Stokes to be terminal, marking the bounds of sanctuary.² There are in *The Annals of the Four Masters* two references to the cross of Clonmacnois, one in A.D. 957, or about thirty years after its erection, in which it is called the "high cross"; and another in A.D. 1060, where it is called the "Cros-na-Screaptra", or "Cross of the Scriptures",³ in reference to the scenes from the Bible carved upon it. Hy. O'Neill, in his great work on this subject, illustrates twenty-three

¹ Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. i, Pl. 55.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 151.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 43.

of the high crosses of Ireland; but out of these only seven are inscribed, and only six out of the seven bear names which enable the date of their erection to be fixed. The inscriptions on the seven crosses are as follow :

The High Cross of Delgany, in the county of Wicklow, bears an inscription asking for a prayer for Dicu and Maeldoran, the wright; but neither of these persons has been identified, so that there is no clue to the date.¹

The High Cross of Kells, in the county of Meath, bears an inscription to the effect that it is the cross of Patrick and Columba, and was evidently erected in commemoration of these saints many centuries after their decease.²

The High Cross of Clonmacnois, in the King's County, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Colman for King Fland, the son of Maelsechlaind. Fland Sinna, King of Ireland, died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, in A.D. 914. Colman was Abbot of Clonmacnois, and died in A.D. 924.³ The date of this cross is, therefore, the early part of the tenth century.

The High Cross of Monasterboice, in the county of Louth, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Muiredach, who has been identified with the Abbot of Monasterboice, who died in 924.⁴ The date of this cross is, therefore, also the early part of the tenth century.

The High Cross of Tuam (No. 1), in the county of Galway, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Gillachrist, descendant of Tuathal the artisan, under the direction of Aed O'Oissin, the successor of Iarlath, for King Thurdelbach, the descendant of Conchobar. Turlogh O'Connor, King of Connaught, came to the throne in A.D. 1106; and after a reign of fifty years, died in A.D. 1156. Aed O'Hoisin was made Abbot of Tuam in A.D. 1126, and afterwards became Archbishop, and died in A.D. 1161.⁵ The date of this cross is, therefore, the first half of the twelfth century.

The High Cross of Tuam (No. 2) bears an inscription showing that it was erected under the direction of O'Hossin, the Abbot, for Turlogh O'Connor.⁶ These are the same names mentioned in the inscription on cross No. 1, and the date is, therefore, also the first half of the twelfth century.

The High Cross of Cong (No. 1), in the county of Mayo, bears an inscription asking a prayer for Gilliberd O'Dubthaich, Abbot of Cong. According to *The Annals of the Four Masters*, Dubthach O'Dubthaigh, Abbot of Cong, died in A.D. 1223.⁷ The date of this cross is, therefore, probably the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The High Cross of Cong (No. 2) bears an inscription asking a prayer

¹ Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³ Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 79.

for Nichol and for Gilliberd O'Dubthaich, Abbot of Cong.¹ The latter is the same name as that inscribed on cross No. 1, and the date is, therefore, also the early part of the thirteenth century.

Having fully discussed the Irish stones with interlaced ornament, bearing inscriptions, we next come to those in Wales, which will all be found described and illustrated in Professor I. O. Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*. The number and geographical distribution of the Welsh stones with interlaced work is shown in the table below :

Glamorganshire . . .	30, of which 16 are inscribed
Pembrokeshire . . .	12 " 5 "
Brecknockshire . . .	5 " 2 "
Carmarthenshire . . .	4 " 2 "
Cardiganshire . . .	4 " 1 "
Flintshire . . .	3 " — "
Anglesey . . .	3 " — "
Merionethshire . . .	2 " — "
Denbighshire . . .	1 " 1 "
Total	64 " 27 "

The stones which are both ornamented and inscribed exist at the following places :—

Glamorganshire.—Margam (5), Llantwit Major (3), Coychurch (2), Merthyr Mawr (2), Kenfig, Bryn Keff-neithan, Baglan, Llandough.

Pembrokeshire.—Nevern, Penally, Carew, Pen Arthur, St. David's.

Brecknockshire.—Llangevaelog Vach, Llanthetty.

Carmarthenshire.—Golden Grove, Llanarthney.

Cardiganshire.—Llanwnnws.

Denbighshire.—Eliseg's Pillar, near Valle Crucis.

At *Margam* are five inscribed crosses. No. 1 bears an inscription showing that Enniaun made this Christ's cross for the soul of Guorgoret. The name Einion, son of Owain, occurs in the *Gwentian Chronicle* under the date 966.² The name Gnaguorit occurs, together with that of Samson, Abbot of the Altar of St. Iltyd, upon a grant of land to the Abbot of St. Cadoc.³ The cross of Enniaun is, therefore, possibly of the tenth century.

¹ Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, p. 80.

² *The Gwentian Chronicle* (published by the Cambrian Archæological Association, 1863), p. 31.

³ Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*, p. 29.

The inscription on No. 2, the great wheel-cross, has not been satisfactorily made out. Crosses Nos. 3, 4, and 5, bear inscriptions showing that they were erected by Grutne, Ilci, and Ilquici respectively; but as these names have not been identified historically, they throw no light upon the date of the stones.

At *Llantwit Major* are three of the most important inscribed stones in Wales. No. 1 bears an inscription showing that this cross was erected by Samson for the sake of his soul. It also has the names of Iltet, Samuel, and Ebisar carved upon it. The only Samson connected with Llantwit, who is mentioned in history, was a pupil of St. Iltutus, and died at the end of the sixth century, having been present at the Council of Paris in 557. He is described in the *Life of St. Cadoc* as "Samson Abbas altaris Sancti Eltuti", and his name also occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* and in the *Vita S. Iltuti*.¹ Iltet is St. Iltutus, the patron saint of Llantwit, which is corrupted from Llan Iltud. Samuel has not been identified. The name Ebisar occurs upon the two crosses at Coychurch or Llangrallo, which was founded by St. Grallo, the nephew of St. Iltutus of Llantwit; but nothing is known of him historically. The above evidence would tend to show that the cross of Samson at Llantwit was erected at the end of the sixth century or beginning of the seventh; but I cannot think that it is of so early a date.

No. 2 bears an inscription showing that this cross was erected by Houelt, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the sake of the soul of Res his father. A Welsh Prince of Glamorgan, named Howell ap Rhys, is mentioned in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, circa A.D. 884;² and in the *Gwentian Chronicle* of Caradoc of Llancarvan occurs a notice of the death of Hywel, son of Rhys, son of Arthrael, lord of Glamorgan, at Rome, under the year 894.³ The date of the cross of Houelt is, therefore, probably the end of the ninth century.

No. 3 bears an inscription showing that this cross was erected in the name of God Almighty by Samson, for the sake of his soul, and for the souls of Juthahel and Arthmael. The name Samson occurs on cross No. 1, and has already been discussed.⁴ It is recorded in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, or *Gwentian Chronicle*,⁵ before referred to, that Ithel, son of Hywel, was made King of Glamorgan in A.D. 843, and killed in the same year. Arthmael was the grandfather of Howell ap Rhys, who set up cross No. 2. On this evidence the stone must be referred to the middle of the ninth century.

The names mentioned in the inscriptions on the other Welsh stones given in the list have not been identified with those of persons known in history. From certain

¹ Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 11.

² Asser (Oxford ed., 1772), p. 49.

³ The *Gwentian Chronicle* (published by the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1863), p. 19.

⁴ Perhaps this may be the Samson whose name appears as a witness to a grant of Meuric ap Arthmael, who was killed in 843.

⁵ P. 13.

peculiarities in the ornament, I should say that the cross of Samson at Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire, the crosses at Carew and Nevern in Pembrokeshire, and the Eindon cross at Golden Grove, were all designed by the same artist. Three typical forms of ornament occur on all four crosses, namely : 1, a square divided diagonally, and filled in with an L-shaped fret ; 2, two oval rings interlaced crosswise ; 3, a square with four Ts arranged like the Chinese Swastica.

In addition to these peculiarities, which I do not think can be accidental, the inscriptions are in all cases placed in small panels in a way which does not appear on any of the other Welsh stones. I therefore consider all these four crosses to be of the same age, probably of the ninth century.

This concludes the description of the Welsh inscribed stones with Celtic ornament ; and we now come to those of Scotland, which will be found illustrated in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Although there are, numerically, more stones with Celtic ornament in Scotland than in any other part of Great Britain, a very small proportion of them are inscribed, as will be seen by the list below, which includes all those known to exist at present. Those inscribed in Ogham characters are four in number, namely at Bressay in Shetland, Golspie in Sutherlandshire, Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, Scoonie in Fifeshire. Those inscribed in Runes are two in number, namely at Kilbar in the Island of Barra, Hebrides, Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire. In addition to the above there is one stone inscribed in Irish minuscules at St. Vigean in Forfarshire. This gives a total of seven inscribed stones with Celtic ornament in Scotland.

The Bressay Stone bears an inscription which has been rendered, "The cross of Naddod's daughter here. Benres, son of the Druid, here." According to the *Landáma-Bók* (Book of Settlement) there was a famous Viking of the Faroes of the name of Naddodd, who discovered Iceland in A.D. 861, and who had a grandson called Benir. The name Moeccadruidis occurs in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*.¹ The date of the Bressay stone is, therefore, possibly of the ninth century.

¹ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Ser., p. 209.

The inscriptions on the other Scotch Oghams have not been made out sufficiently well to throw any light upon the question of their age.

The *Kilbar Stone* bears an inscription showing that it was erected to the memory of Raskun by Ur and Thur; but these names have not been identified with those of persons known in history. This stone is of the same type as those in the Isle of Man, and may be considered as an outlier of the group of monuments found in that island.

The *Ruthwell Cross* has been exhaustively described by Mr. John Kemble in the *Archæologia*,¹ by Professor George Stephens in his *Runic Monuments*,² by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in the *Archæologia Æliana*,³ and by Mr. Joseph Anderson in his *Rhind Lectures*. Although it far surpasses in interest any other sculptured stone in Great Britain, it still remains comparatively unknown and uncared for in an out-of-the-way country village in the south of Scotland, and no cast of it is to be seen in any of our museums. The sculpture upon the cross consists of panels filled in with scenes from the New Testament, with the names of the subjects inscribed in Latin; conventional foliage, etc.; and portions of an Anglo-Saxon poem called "The Dream of the Holy Rood", inscribed in Runes. At the top of the cross are inscribed, in Runes, the words, "Cadmon me made." Professor Stephens is of opinion that the Cadmon here mentioned is the celebrated poet of that name who composed the metrical paraphrase of the Scriptures at Whitby, whilst St. Hilda was Abbess there, in the seventh century. He also thinks that the "me made" refers to the "Dream of the Holy Rood", and not to the sculptured stone itself. It is possible, on the above evidence, that the Ruthwell Cross may be as old as the seventh or eighth century.

The *St. Vigean's Stone* bears an inscription in which the names of Drosten and Forcus are mentioned; but they have not been satisfactorily identified with historical characters. The lettering of the inscription resembles most nearly that of the Clonmacnois slabs before referred to, between the dates A.D. 888 and 895.⁴ The full stop is made with three dots arranged at the corners of a triangle; which peculiarity occurs on the Pillar of Samson at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire; in the Psalter of St. Augustine, in the British Museum; and in St. Chad's Gospels at Lichfield. The weight of the evidence is, therefore, in favour of the St. Vigean's Stone being of the eighth or ninth century.

We next come to the inscribed crosses of the Isle of Man, with Celtic ornament, which will be found illustrated in the Rev. J. G. Cumming's *Crosses of the Isle of Man*, and in a paper by the same author in the volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1866. There are, altogether, in the Isle of Man fourteen crosses and eighteen fragments with Celtic ornament; and out of these, eighteen are inscribed, at the following places: Kirkmichael, 8; Kirkbraddan, 3; Kirk Andreas, 2; Jurby, Kirk Onchan,

¹ Vol. xxviii, p. 327.

² Vol. i, p. 405.

³ Vol. i, N. Ser., p. 167.

⁴ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Ser., p. 195.

Peel Cathedral, Ballaugh, St. John's, Tynwald. In these inscriptions occur forty proper names; but none of the persons thus commemorated are known historically. We are certain, however, from direct historical evidence contained in the *Chronicon Manniæ*, the *Irish Annals*, and the *Norse Sagas*, that the Danes and Norwegians occupied the Isle of Man for nearly four hundred years, dating from A.D. 888, when it was seized by Harold Haarfager (the fair-haired), until A.D. 1266, in which year it was ceded to Scotland by Magnus VI of Norway. The names mentioned in the inscriptions are chiefly Scandinavian, the language in which they are written is Norse, and the letters Runic, thus showing clearly that these monuments were erected during the period above referred to, and are therefore none earlier than the ninth century, or later than the thirteenth.

Lastly, we come to the inscribed stones in England with Celtic ornament; often, however, exhibiting Scandinavian or Saxon influence. These are about twenty-five in number, and exist at the following places:—

Yorkshire.—Thornhill, Hackness, Dewsbury, Collingham, Hawkswell, Greta Bridge, Wensley.

Cumberland.—Bewcastle, Carlisle Cathedral, Beckermeth.

Durham.—Chester-le-Street, Yarm, Monkwearmouth.

Northumberland.—Alnmouth, Falstone.

Lancashire.—St. Mary's Church, Lancaster.

Lincolnshire.—Crowle.

Middlesex.—St. Paul's Churchyard.

Cornwall.—Roseworthy in Gwinnear.

At *Thornhill* are three shafts of crosses ornamented with interlaced work, and inscribed with Runes, which have been described and illustrated by the Rev. D. H. Haigh and Professor George Stephens in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.¹ No. 1 was erected by Ethelbrecht to the memory of Ethelwini. No. 2 was erected by Eadred to the memory of Eata, the hermit. No. 3 was erected by Igilsnith to the memory of Berhtsinthe. Besides these, there is a fourth fragment, which was possibly also ornamented when whole, inscribed in uncials, to the memory of Osberht.

The name *Æthwini*, which the Rev. D. H. Haigh considers to be a contracted form of *Æthelwini*, occurs in the *Liber Vite* under the date A.D. 747. According to Simeon of Durham, Eata the anchorite died at

¹ Vol. iv, p. 420, and vol. viii, p. 49.

Craic, ten miles distant from York, in A.D. 767. The *English Chronicle* records the deposition of Osberht, King of Northumbria, in A.D. 867. The above evidence tends to show that two of the Thornhill stones are of the eighth century, and one of the ninth.

At *Hackness*, anciently called Hacanoss, where a monastery was founded by St. Hilda of Whitby in A.D. 680 (the year of her death), are three fragments of shafts of crosses with interlaced work; two inscribed in uncials, and one in Runes. They have been fully described by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in his paper on "The Monasteries of St. Heiu and St. Hild" in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.¹ No. 1 is inscribed on one side, "Huæthburga, thy honses always remember thee, most loving mother"; and on the other, "Blessed Æthilburga! For ever may they remember thee, dutifully mourning! May they ask for thee verdant rest, in the name of Christ, venerable mother!" No. 2 is inscribed "Trecca Bosa, Abbess Æthilburga, pray for us." No. 3 is inscribed with the name "Bugga". Æthilburga, daughter of Aldwulf, King of the East Angles, and great niece of St. Hild, was Abbess of Hackness, A.D. 705. Huæthburga, sister of Æthilburga, is mentioned in letters to and by St. Boniface, A.D. 723. Bugga was daughter of the Abbess Cangith. Trecca was an abbot-priest and correspondent of St. Lul, A.D. 786. An Abbot named Bosa is mentioned in the *Liber Vitæ*, A.D. 773. The Hackness stones may, therefore, be safely assumed to be of the eighth century.

At *Collingham* is the shaft of a cross with interlaced work, inscribed in Runes to the memory of King Oswini, who was ruler of the Deira in 651.² The date of this cross is, therefore, of the seventh century.

At *Hawkswell* is the shaft of a cross with an inscription showing that it is the cross of St. Gacobus, who is identified with the deacon of St. Paulinus of that name mentioned by Bede, and who died A.D. 690.³ This cross is, therefore, possibly of the seventh century.

At *Bewcastle* is the finest sculptured monument in England. It has been described and illustrated in the *Archæologia*,⁴ by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in the *Archæologia Eliana*,⁵ by Professor G. Stephens in his *Runic Monuments*, and by Dr. Stuart in his *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*. On the side of it is an inscription in Runes, showing that it was set up by Hwætred to the memory of King Alefrid, who died in 670. This cross may, therefore, possibly be of the seventh or eighth century.

At *Beckermey* are two shafts of crosses, one of which bears an inscription showing that it marks the grave of Bishop Tuda.⁶ Bede mentions that Tuda, Bishop of Northumbria, died of the plague in A.D. 664, and was buried in the Monastery of Pægnalæch. This cross (which bears a marked resemblance to Eliseg's Pillar in Flintshire) is, therefore, probably of the seventh century.

At *Chester-le-Street* is the shaft of a cross inscribed with the name Eadmund.⁷ If this be the same Eadmund who accompanied his brother Athelstane to Chester-le-Street, on his way to repel an invad

¹ Vol. iii, p. 373.

² Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, vol. i, p. 391.

³ *Archæologia Eliana*, N.S., vol. i, p. 185.

⁴ Vol. xiv, p. 118.

⁵ Vol. i, N. S., p. 152.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁷ *A Thousand Years of the Church of Chester-le-Street*. By the Rev. Canon Blunt. P. 183.

from the North, the stone must be of the tenth century. However this may be, its date probably lies between A.D. 883, when Eardulph, eighteenth Bishop of Lindisfarne, became first Bishop of Chester-le-Street, and the year 995, when the see was removed to Durham.

At *Yarm* was found a fragment of the shaft of a cross, which is now in the Cathedral Library at Durham. It bears an inscription showing that it was erected by ...berecht, Bishop, in memory of his brother. Professor Earle of Oxford reads the name "Hireberecht"; but Professor Stephens makes it "Trumberecht", and identifies him with the Bishop of Hexham of that name, A.D. 681.¹ If this be so, the stone is of the seventh century.

At *Monkwearmouth*, where a convent was founded, in the seventh century, by St. Bega, is a stone inscribed in Runes with the name Tid-firth. Professor Stephens identifies the person here named with Tidferth, last Bishop of Hexham, in A.D. 822.² This stone, therefore, is possibly of the ninth century.

At *Alnmouth* was found the fragment of the shaft of a cross, which is now in the Duke of Northumberland's Museum at Alnwick Castle. It bears an inscription showing that it was wrought by Myredeh, and fixed by Eadulf.³ The Rev. D. H. Haigh thinks this name may be identified with that of King Eadulf, who usurped Alefrid's throne in A.D. 705. In this case the stone is of the eighth century.

The names mentioned in the inscriptions on the other stones given in the list have not been identified with persons known in history, and we have consequently no clue to their date.

Summarising the foregoing, we have the following dated specimens of Celtic stonework :—

SEVENTH CENTURY.

England :—*circa* 651, Collingham ; 664, Beckermot ; 670, Bewcastle ; 681, Yarm ; 690, Hawkeswell.

Scotland :—*circa* 690, Ruthwell.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

England :—*circa* 705, Alnmouth ; 705-773, Hackness ; 747-867, Thornhill.

NINTH CENTURY.

England :—*circa* 822, Monkwearmouth ; 883-995, Chester-le-Street ; 888-1266, Isle of Man crosses.

Scotland :—*circa* 861, Bressay ; 888-895, St. Vigeans.

Wales :—*circa* 843-894, Llantwit Major.

Ireland :—*circa* 839, Tullylease, tomb of St. Berechtir ; 887, Clonmacnois, tomb of Suibine and five others.

¹ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 48.

² Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, vol. i, p. 477.

³ *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. i, N. S., p. 185 ; and Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, vol. i, p. 461.

TENTH CENTURY.

Ireland :—921, Clonmacnois, tomb of St. Fiachraich and nine others ; 914-924, Clonmacnois high cross ; *circa* 924, Monasterboice high cross.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Ireland :—1002-1085, Clonmacnois, eight slabs.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

Ireland :—1101-1106, Clonmacnois, two slabs ; 1126-1156, Tuam high cross.

Having now taken a complete survey of the evidence bearing upon the age of works of art with Celtic ornamentation in the MSS., on the sculptured stones, and on the metal work, we will proceed to sum up the results of the investigation, which are as follow.

SUMMARY.

The Romans, although they occupied this country for four hundred years, have left no indications upon the numerous tombstones belonging to this period that they were Christians ; we must, therefore, accept Professor Westwood's conclusion, that "either all the Christian evidences have been destroyed, or else they inscribed no Christian emblem upon their tombstones."¹ The Christian monogram of Constantine, however, occurs upon a Roman pavement which was discovered at Frampton, near Dorchester, also on four metal objects and on a few terracotta lamps found in different parts of England.²

The earliest Christian monuments in this country, of which we have any knowledge, are Celtic, and belong to the class I have termed rude pillar-stones. They consist of stones destitute of ornament of any kind, in their rough, undressed state, inscribed in debased Roman capitals or Oghams, and bearing a simple form of cross incised, or sometimes the monogram of Constantine. Rude pillar-stones are found in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, but not in other parts of England. Their exact age has not been ascertained by historical evidence ; but they are known to belong to the period between the time when the inhabitants of this country

¹ *Reports of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.*

² Hübner's *Christian Inscriptions*, pp. 13 and 80.

were first Christianised, and the time when the more elaborately ornamented crosses with interlaced work were introduced ; that is to say, the fifth and sixth centuries ; for St. Patrick converted the Irish in the fifth century, St. Columba arrived in Scotland in 563, and St. Augustine landed in England in 597. The great age of the rude pillar-stones is attested by the semi-pagan remains with which they are often found associated, the early linguistic and palæographical forms of the inscriptions, and the entire absence of ornamental features.

The introduction of Christianity into Ireland produced an extraordinary development in the intellectual activity and artistic capabilities of the Celtic race, such as we must go back to the days of ancient Greece to find a parallel ; for as early as the seventh century, or after only about a hundred and fifty years had elapsed from the time they emerged from paganism, we find Irish missionaries overrunning the whole continent of Europe ; and the Lindisfarne Gospels, written between 698 and 721 (now the glory of the Cottonian Library in the British Museum), remain to this day to bear witness to the high pitch of excellence to which the art of illumination and ornamental design had attained in so brief a period. The leading characteristic of Celtic art is the excessive care lavished upon the minutiae of the ornamental details. Although the geometrical elements of which the ornamentation is made up are common to many other styles, they are arranged, developed, and combined in such a manner, and with such marvellous skill, that one never has the least hesitation in discriminating an object of Celtic workmanship from any other.

The geometrical elements of which Celtic ornament is made up consist of interlaced work, key-patterns, and spirals, together with dragonesque, interlaced, work arranged in a particular way (generally in panels), and combined in special proportions, with a view to producing a pleasing, artistic effect. Of these classes of ornament, the only one which is found on objects of British workmanship of pre-Christian date is the peculiar divergent spiral, terminating in trumpet-shaped ends ; as, for example, the enamelled plate taken from the shoulder of a skeleton in Pegge's Barrow, on Middleton Moor, Derby-

shire;¹ and a similar one discovered at Chesterton, on the Fosseway, in Warwickshire;² also the bronze mirrors dug up near Bedford, and at the Stamford Hill Cemetery near Plymouth.³ This peculiar form of spiral may thus be traced to a Celtic source; but the interlaced work and key-patterns are probably of foreign origin. The latter are found in combination on early Arabian brass-work. Simple plait-work is to be found in the *Codex Alexandrinus*, used as an ornament, also on the jambs of doorways of early churches in Rome. The key-pattern is a common Eastern device; but the special characteristic of Celtic key-patterns is that they are filled into triangular spaces instead of squares, and made to run diagonally. The lacertine animal forms interlaced in all kinds of ways seem to be purely Celtic, and to have been developed out of knotwork.

The earliest dated specimen of a work of art with Celtic ornament is the cross at Collingham in Yorkshire, which was erected about 651. Belonging to the same century, we have also the crosses of Beckermest, Bewcastle, Yarm, and Hawkswell, in England; and the Ruthwell cross in Scotland. The MSS. known as Dimma's Book, the Gospels of St. Mulling, and the Lindisfarne Gospels, are also of the seventh century. There is no dated Celtic metal-work as early as the seventh century.

In the eighth century we have the crosses of Alnmouth, Hackness, and Thornhill, in England, and the manuscript volumes of the Book of Prayers of Bishop Æthelwald, and the Gospels of Treves. Although no specimens of metal-work of the eighth century now exist, we have references, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to the crozier of St. Patrick and the shrines of Rechra, Dochonna, and St. Ronan.

The ninth century seems to have been one of unusual activity in the intellectual and artistic world, and all the best specimens of Celtic stonework are to be attributed to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, which period may be considered the culminating point of the style, when it had reached its highest pitch

¹ Bateman's *Vestiges of Derbyshire*, p. 25.

² *Journ. Brit. Arch. Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 162.

³ Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times*, p. 100.

of excellence, and after which it began to decline. Belonging to the ninth century we have, in stonework, the crosses of Monkwearmouth, Chester-le-Street, and the Isle of Man, in England; the crosses of Bressay and St. Vigean's in Scotland; that of Llantwit Major in Wales; and in Ireland the tomb of St. Berechtir of Tullylease, and the tomb of Suibine, and five others at Clonmacnois. In MSS., the Book of Armagh and the Gospels of Mac Regol. In metal-work, the shrine of the Book of Durrow, and references in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to the shrines of St. Patrick, Comgall, Columba, and Adamnan, together with the croziers of Fedhlimidh, and Ciaran.

Belonging to the tenth century we have, in stonework, the tomb of St. Fiachraich and nine others at Clonmacnois, and the high crosses of Clonmacnois and Monasterboice, in Ireland. In MSS., we have the Gospels of Mac Duman. In metal-work, the bell of Ballynaback, the shrines of Maelbrigde's bell, and the Book of Armagh, together with the crozier of Kells.

Belonging to the eleventh century we have, in stonework, eight tombstones at Clonmacnois in Ireland. In MSS., the Great Psalter of Boulogne. In metal-work, the shrines of the Stowe Missal, St. Columba's Psalter, and the Bell of Armagh, together with the crozier of Lismore.

Belonging to the twelfth century, we have, in stonework, two tombstones at Clonmacnois, and the high crosses at Tuam in Ireland. In metal-work, the processional cross of Cong, and the shrines of Dimma's Book and St. Patrick's tooth.

After the twelfth century Celtic forms of ornament gradually disappeared; but in remote parts of the country they lingered on for a long time, for there is an old Scotch bagpipe bearing the date 1409, which is ornamented with interlaced work, to be found illustrated in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.¹ Interlaced ornament in a debased form is also to be found on Highland brooches, targets, powder-horns and dirk-handles, as late as 1745.

Having now summarised the whole of the evidence as to the date of objects bearing Celtic ornamentation, let

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 121.

us see how it bears on the date of the Ilkley crosses. The general tendency of the facts adduced is to show that Celtic ornament assumed its typical form with the introduction of Christianity, that it was very rapidly developed, and in MSS. had attained its maximum excellence about the end of the seventh century, when the Gospels of Lindisfarne were written. The ornamentation appears to have been applied subsequently to stonework, which had not reached its highest development until as late as 924, when the high crosses of Clonmacnois and Monasterboice were erected. The dated specimens of metal-work are, again, later than the stonework, some of the finest being of the eleventh century, since the processional cross of Cong, which is of the best workmanship and design, was not made until 1123.

Foliageous scrollwork does not occur in the MSS. or on any of the early stonework in Ireland, and is generally supposed to indicate the degradation of the style. If this is the case, the Ilkley crosses may be as late as the tenth or eleventh century. On the other hand, we have the dated crosses of Collingham, Bewcastle, and Ruthwell, which are of the seventh century, and which also have foliageous scrollwork upon them. It is, therefore, quite possible the Ilkley stones may be as early as the one at Collingham, which was erected about 621. Although there is nothing impossible in the belief that the English crosses mentioned are as early as the seventh century, it is certainly very curious that we have no dated examples of stonework with Celtic ornament in Ireland, where the style originated, earlier than 806.

I think that the whole of the evidence requires very careful sifting; and until the matter has been more fully investigated by the students of language, palæography, and ornament, we must be content with the approximate dates which form our working hypothesis for the present.

We lastly come to the question of the best methods for preserving the Celtic sculptured stones from destruction.

The Preservation of Celtic Monuments.—Although the sculptured stones of this country are at present far better cared for than was the case some years ago, there still remains a great deal to be done towards their preservation.

The first step to be taken in the matter is to prepare a careful and exhaustive list of all the monuments in question, and mark their position upon the Ordnance Map. This I have endeavoured to do; and at the end of this paper will be found a list showing the geographical distribution of the stones bearing Celtic ornament in England, together with references to the books where they will be found described. In order to make the list as complete as possible I have looked through all the transactions of the English archæological societies, most of the county histories, and the few works we possess which deal exclusively with the early sculptured stones. I have also received valuable assistance from the Rev. G. F. Browne of Cambridge, who has kindly looked through the list, and added several more examples, chiefly ones which have been discovered recently, during church restoration in the north of England, and are as yet undescribed. It is of the greatest importance that no stones of this class, which are at present known, should be omitted from the list. I shall, therefore, esteem it as a great favour if members of this Association or others will send me notes of fresh discoveries or examples which have escaped my notice. I have succeeded in collecting already the names of one hundred and sixty-four localities in England where stones with Celtic ornamentation exist, spread over the different counties in the following proportion:—Northumberland, 13; Durham, 15; Yorkshire, 58; Cumberland, 17; Westmoreland, 1; Lancashire, 6; Cheshire, 7; Derbyshire, 16; Notts, 1; Staffordshire, 9; Lincolnshire, 12; Northamptonshire, 7; Leicestershire, 4; Rutland, 1; Bedfordshire, 1; Cambridgeshire, 2; Huntingdonshire, 1; Norfolk, 1; Middlesex, 1; Kent, 2; Sussex, 1; Worcestershire, 1; Hampshire, 1; Wiltshire, 2; Somersetshire, 5; Devonshire, 1; Cornwall, 11. Total, 197.

These, then, are the materials to be dealt with; and the two points to be considered are:—(1), how the monuments themselves may best be preserved; and (2), how a record of them may be kept both for the purposes of scientific research, and to hand down to a future generation. The sculptured stones in question may be roughly divided into two classes,—those of large size, generally erected in the open air; and the smaller, portable frag-

ments which have been used as building materials in mediæval times, and have been brought to light during recent church restorations. The large, erect stones should be fixed firmly in a stone base, and surrounded by an iron railing. Any socket-holes should be filled in with cement, to prevent the water collecting, and a covering of lead placed over the top of the stone, so as to act as a kind of roof, and throw off the wet. The stone itself should be coated with some preservative solution.

Next, with regard to the small fragments. If they are sculptured on one face only, they should be built into the interior walls of the church, at a convenient height from the ground for inspection, and placed in a good light. If all the sides are carved, they should be fixed in a strong wooden socket, and placed on the top of a wooden table, about 3 feet high, with a brick pillar built beneath so as to take the weight of the stone. The practice of leaving these fragments huddled up in a corner of the church, on the floor, where they get their corners knocked off every time they are moved, is most objectionable.

Lastly, as to the means of rendering these stones available for scientific research. I consider that, before all trace of the sculpture is obliterated by the weather, as will most certainly be the case if there is any further delay, casts, photographs, and scale-drawings should be made of the whole of them. Taking casts involves expense; but as this is a matter of national importance, I think the Government might fairly be asked to render assistance by offering to buy any casts which may be taken, so that they may be deposited in the South Kensington Museum, and thus by degrees a complete collection formed; and we might even have a gallery devoted entirely to Celtic art. The stones, as at present scattered over the entire face of the country (often in most inaccessible places), are valueless for scientific purposes; but once let casts of the whole of them be brought together, and the story which they will unfold, when placed side by side, cannot fail to be of the greatest possible value to archæology. The subjects upon which they will throw light are early Christian symbolism, ornamental art, palæography, philology, and the culture of our forefathers during, perhaps, the most interesting, if least known,

period of our history. I feel sure that if such a collection were once formed, it will be seen that Great Britain possesses a series of sculptured stones such as are not the heritage of any nation in Europe, and that there once existed a school of native art in this country of which every Englishman must feel justly proud.

LIST OF STONES WITH INTERLACED ORNAMENT IN ENGLAND.

COMPILED BY J. R. ALLEN AND THE REV. G. F. BROWNE.

(*The numbers and letters after the names of the places refer to the Ordnance Maps ; fr., fragment ; st., stone ; scl., sculptured ; cr., cross ; crs., crosses ; ins., inscribed ; insn., inscription ; sh., shaft ; interl., interlaced.*)

NORTHUMBERLAND.

- Norham (Ord. Map, 110, N.W.), sixteen frs. of crs., one ins. fr. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 27 and 28 ; "Berwickshire Nat. Field Club," iv, p. 218
- Lindisfarne (110, S.E.), five frs. of crs. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 26
- Falstone (108, S.W.), small coped tombstone with biliteral insn. Stephens, "Runic Mons.," i, p. 456
- Alnmouth (109, N.W.), sh. of cr. with crucifixion, ins. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 117. Now in Alwick Castle Museum
- Warkworth (109, S.W.), small cr. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 82
- Rothbury (109, S.W.), fr. of sh. of cr. used as base of font ; and fr. of head and sh. of cr. Now in Newcastle Mus. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 85-87
- St. Oswald's (106, N.E.), fr. of cr. sh. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 110. Now in Cath. Lib., Durham
- Hexham (106, S.E.), six frs. of shs. of crs., one fr. of head of cr., one cr. slab, two ins. sts., one coped tombstone. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 93-95. Some now in Cath. Lib., Durham. Hübner, No. 203
- Warden (106, S.E.), scl. sl. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 92
- Dilston (106, S.E.), fr. of cr. sh. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 92
- Spital (106, S.E.), fr. of cr. sh. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 88
- Tynemouth (105, N.E.), erect cr. sh., much defaced. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 83. Another now in Newcastle Mus. G. F. B.
- Bywell (105, S.W.), sl. with interl. work. "Archæol. Æliana," iii, N. S., p. 34

DURHAM.

- Jarrow (105, S.E.), eight frs. of crs., one fr. of cr. sl., three ins. sts. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 82, 115, and 116. Two in Newcastle Mus. G. F. B. in "Camb. Ant. Soc.," vi. Saxon dedication stone. Hübner, No. 198
- Monkwearmouth (105, S.E.), two frs., two ins. sts. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 115. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," vi
- Chester-le-Street (105, S.E.), ten frs. of slts. of crs., one ins., two socket sts. of crs. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 91. Canon Blunt's "Chester-le-Street"
- Durham (103, N.W.), fr. of coped tombstone ; and frs. from various places in Cathedral Library

- Bishop Auckland (103, N.W.), two frs. of cr. shs., one ins. cr. sh., one cr. sl. G. F. B. in "Magazine of Art"
- Kelloe (103, N.E.)
- Hartlepool (103, N.E.), nine ins. cr. sls. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," i, p. 186
- Winston (103, S.W.), broken cr. head. "Archæol. Æliana," vi, N. S., p. 24
- Gainford (103, S.W.), eleven broken cr. shs., six broken cr. heads, one cr. sl. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 109 and 112-114
- Aycliffe (103, S.E.), two mutilated crs., erect, with sculpture of Crucifixion; and many other frs. of cr. shs. and heads. G. F. B.; Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pls. 89 and 90
- Stainton-le-Street (103, S.E.), two broken cr. shs. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xii, p. 196
- Billingham (103, S.E.), seven broken cr. shs., one ins. cr. sl. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 111; Hübner, No. 202
- Dimsdale (103, S.E.), broken coped tombstone. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxii, p. 196
- Yarm (103, S.E.), fr. of ins. cr. sh. "Yorksh. Archæol. Journ.," vi, p. 48. Now in Cath. Lib., Durham
- Sockburn (96, N.W.), coped stones, frs. of shs., cr. sl.

YORKSHIRE (NORTH RIDING).

- Stanwick, St. John's (103, S.W.), two broken cr. shs. and other frs. G. F. B.
- Wycliffe (103, S.W.), two broken cr. shs., one ins. Gough's "Camden," iii, p. 340
- Barningham (103, S.W.), coffin-lid with interl. work. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," iv, p. 357
- Kirk Levington (103, S.E.), several frs. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," v
- Upleatham (104, S.W.), fr. of cr. sh. G. F. B.
- Whitby (104, S.E.), fr. of cr. sh., fr. of cr. head insec. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," v
- Easby Abbey (97, N.E.), broken cr. sh. "Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.," x, p. 61
- Hawkswell (97, N.E.), cr. sh., erect, ins. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," iii, p. 259. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," vi
- Wensley (97, S.E.), two cr. slabs ins. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," vii, p. 75
- Kirkby Malzeard (97, S.E.), cr. sh. erect, and head; coped stone. G. F. B.
- Masham (97, S.E.), cylindrical pillar, erect, broken cr. sh., broken cr. head. Fisher, "Hist. of Masham," p. 430; G. F. B., "Derbyshire Arch. Assoc. Journ.," 1884
- Bedale (97, S.E.), two broken cr. shs., fr. of coped tombstone. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," iii, p. 258; G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," v
- Brompton (96, N.W.), three coped stones, two frs. of coped stones, two crs., one fr. of cr. sh., two frs. of cr. heads. "Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.," x, p. 240
- Northallerton (96, N.W.), two frs. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," v
- Lastingham (96, N.E.), two broken cr. heads, broken cr. sh., cr. sl., two plain crs. "Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.," 1874, p. 202

- Cawthorne (96, N.E.), two frs. of cr. shs., two cr. heads. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.:" v
- Cundall (96, S.W.), broken cr. sh. Whitaker's "Richmond," ii, p. 195
- Kirkdale (96, S.E.), cr., cr. slab, slab with interl. work, and many other frs. "Assoc. Architect. Rep.," 1874, p. 207
- Sinnington (96, S.E.), cr. head and various frs. G. F. B.
- Gilling (96, S.E.), fr. of cr. sh. G. F. B.
- Stonegrave (96, S.E.), cr. sh. and head, with other frs. "Murray's Guide", p. 267
- Kirkby Moorside (96, S.E.), three cr. heads, several frs. of shs., fr. of round pillar. G. F. B.
- Kirkby Misperton (96, S.E.), fr. of sh. G. F. B.
- Pickering (96, S.E.), frs. G. F. B.
- Middleton (96, S.E.), cr. sh. and head. G. F. B.
- Hovingham (96, S.E.), cr. built into tower. G. F. B.
- Nunnington (96, S.E.), two frs. of cr. shs. G. F. B.
- Hackness (95, N.W.), three cr. shs. ins. "Yorksh. Archæol. Journ.," iii, p. 373
- Hawsker (95 N.W.), cr. sh. G. F. B.
- Ellerburn (95, S.W.), cr. head and various frs. G. F. B.
- Filey (95, S.W.), fr. of round pillar. G. F. B., "Camb. Ant. Soc.," v
- York, in Museum (93, N.E.), six broken cr. shs., three broken cr. heads, one ins., two coped tombstones, two cr. slabs. "Catal. of York Mus.," p. 66. In porch of St. Mary, Bishophill Senior, cr. sl. with interl.; St. Mary, Castlegate; Saxon dedication stone. Hübner, No. 175

WEST RIDING.

- Middlemoor (97, S.E.), broken cr. head. Sketch by Sir Henry Dryden
- Ripon (96, S.W.), small broken cr. ins., head of cr., two frs. built into walls of Cathedral. "Catal. of York Mus.," p. 69
- Burnsall (92, N.E.), two crs., two broken cr. heads, four broken cr. shs. Whitaker, "Craven," 3rd ed., p. 204
- Ilkley (92, S.E.), three cr. shs., erect, four broken cr. shs., three broken cr. heads, one cr. slab. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xx, p. 310, and xl, p. 158
- Otley (92, S.E.), five broken cr. shs., one slab with incised strapwork, two stones with rude crosses, one rude socket-stone
- Guisley (92, S.E.), sh. of cr., erect. Hatton's "Churches of Yorksh.," p. 32
- Bingley (92, S.E.), base of cr. (?) with Runic insn. "Yorksh. Archæol. Journ.," ii, p. 254
- Kirkby Hill (93, N.W.), six broken cr. shs., one broken cr. head, one abacus of doorway, one cr. slab. "Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.," x, p. 241
- Bilton (93, S.W.), one stump of cr. erect, one broken cr. sh., one cr. head. "Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.," ix, p. 177. One slab and other frs. G. F. B. in "C. A. S.," v
- Healaugh (93, S.W.), cr. slab ins.,—now lost. "Yorksh. Archæol. Journ.," iii, p. 365
- Collingham (93, S.W.), sh. of cr., erect, with insn. Stephens, "Runic Mon.," i, p. 391. Sh. with Evangelists. G. F. B.
- Kirkby Wharfe (93, S.W.), sh., cr. head, and fr. of cr. head. G. F. B.

- Adel (93, S.W.), several Saxon head-stones. "Assoc. Architect. Soc. Rep.," ix, p. 204; "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xxvii, p. 77
- Leeds (93, S.W.), cr. now erect, fr. with Runic insn.,—lost. "Gent. Mag.," July 1854, and G. F. B. in "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xli
- Rastvick (88, N.E.)
- Hartshead (88, N.E.), base of cr. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," v, p. 63
- Dewsbury (88, N.E.), three broken cr. shs., two ins.; broken cr. head, ins.; broken coped tombstone. "Archæol.," xxxiv, p. 437
- Thornhill (88, N.E.), six broken cr. shs., four ins.; two broken cr. heads. "Yorksh. Archæol. Journ.," iv, p. 420, and viii, p. 49
- Kirkburton (88, S.E.), three frs. of shs. G. F. B.
- Crofton (87, N.W.), broken cr. sh., broken cr. head. "Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.," 42nd Ser., p. 33
- Wakefield (87, N.W.), broken cr. sh. "Catal. of York Mus.," p. 69
- Kippax (87, N.W.), broken cr. sh.
- Rothwell (87, N.W.), two slabs with animals. "Yorkshire Archæol. Journ."
- Methley (87, N.W.)
- Sheffield (82, N.W.), broken cr. sh. in private garden. G. F. B. Cast in Weston Museum

EAST RIDING

- Londesborough (95, S.W.), cr. head. G. F. B

CUMBERLAND.

- Rockliffe (107, S.E.), cross erect. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cci
- Carlisle (107, S.E.), two broken cr. heads, one ins. with Runes. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xii, p. 180, and xv, p. 85
- Bewcastle (106, N.W.), cr. sh. erect, ins. with Runes. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 21
- Lanercoast (106, S.W.). Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cci
- Cross Canonby (101, N.W.), broken cr. sh., cr. slab. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.," v, p. 149
- Dearham (101, N.W.), cr. erect, broken cr. head, broken cr. sh. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 23; "Reliquary," vol. xxv, p. 81
- Brigham (101, S.W.), broken cr. head, base of cr. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.," vi
- St. Bees (101, S.W.), cr. sh. erect, four broken cr. shs., one lintel of doorway. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.," ii, p. 27
- Penrith (102, N.W.), two pillars and side-stones, cr. erect. "Archæol.," ii, p. 48
- Dacre (102, S.W.). "Reliquary."
- Hale (99, N.E.), six frs. of cr. shs. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.," iii, p. 96
- St. Bridget's, Beckermest (99, N.E.), two cylindrical cr. shs. erect, one ins. "Archæol. Æliana," i, N. S., p. 149
- St. John's, Beckermest (99, N.E.), eight broken cr. shs., socket st. of cr., cr. slab. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.," iv, p. 139
- Gosforth (99, N.E.), cr. erect, two broken cr. heads, one broken cr. sh. Stuart, "Sculpt. Sts.," ii, pl. 24; "Journ. Brit. Archæol. Inst.," xl, p. 143; cast in S. K. Mus.
- Irton (99, N.E.), cr. erect. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cci

- Maucaester (99, N.E.), sh. of cr. "Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. Soc.,"
iii, p. 96
Waberthwaite (99, N.E.), broken cr. sh. Ditto, iii, p. 96

WESTMORELAND.

- Kirkby Stephen (97, N.W.), two broken cr. shs., one broken cr. head
Ditto, iv, p. 178

LANCASHIRE.

- Heysham (91, N.E.), coped tombstone, stump of cr. erect. Whitaker,
"Richmondsh.," ii, p. 318; "Ashby-de-la-Zouche Anastatic,"
1859, pl. 15
Halton (91, N.E.), cr. sh. erect, five broken cr. shs. Whitaker, ii, p. 241
Lancaster (91, N.E.), broken cr. with Runic insn. "Archæol.," xxix,
p. 76. Now in Brit. Mus.
Whalley (92, S.W.), three shs. erect. Whitaker, "Hist. of Whalley",
ed. 1876, ii, 15; G. F. B., "Magazine of Art"
Bolton (89, S.E.), fr. of sh. and head of cr. Ilam, "Anastatic Drawing
Society," 1879, pl. 20
Winwick (80, N.W.), broken cr. head. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxvii,
p. 92

CHESHIRE.

- West Kirkby (79, N. E.), broken cr. sh., slab with interl. work. E.
Smith, "Churches of West Kirkby"
Sandbach (80, S.E.), two cr. shs. erect, four sc. pillars. Lysons, "Mag.
Brit.," ii, p. 459
Cheadle (81, N.W.). Earwaker, "East Cheshire," p. 185
Lyme Hall (81, N.W.), two crosses. Ditto, p. 313
Prestbury (81, N.W.), two broken cr. shs., one broken cr. head. "Re-
liquary," xxv, p. 1
Macclesfield (81, S.W.), three round pillars erect in Public Park.
G. F. B.
Chulow, near Wincle (81, S.W.), round pillar erect. Earwaker, vol. ii,
p. 435

DERBYSHIRE.

- Ludworth (81, N.W.). Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cccxxvi
Mellor (81, N.W.). Ditto
Hope (81, N.E.), sh. of cr. erect
Eyam (81, N.E.), cr. erect. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cccxxv
Taddington (81, S.E.), cr. sh. erect. Cox, "Churches of Derbysh.,"
ii, p. 122
Bakewell (81, S.E.), cr. erect, fr. with Runic insn., broken cr. head,
broken cr. sh., two small frs., coped tombstone, several early
headstones, etc.; some in Weston Museum, Sheffield, and the
rest in porch of church. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iv, p. cccxxv
Darley Dale (82, S.W.), broken cr. sh., fr. with diaper-work, broken,
coped tombstone in Weston Museum, Sheffield. "Reliquary,"
ii, p. 22
Blackwell (82, S.W.), sh. erect. Cox, "Churches of Derbysh.," i, p. 95
Bradbourne (72, N.E.), two broken cr. shs. Bateman, "Vestiges of the
Ants. of Derbysh.," p. 194

- Ashbourne (72, N.E.), two broken cr. shs.
 Derby, St. Alkmund's Church, now in Museum (71, S.W.), five broken cr. shs. Cox, "Churches of Derbysh.," iv, p. 172
 Spondon (71, S.W.), broken cr. sh. Ditto, iii, p. 302
 Repton (71, S.W.), coped tombstone. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," v, p. cccxiii
 Alvaston (71, S.W.), cr. slab. Cox, "Churches of Derbysh.," iv, p. 140
 Wilne (71, S.W.), font made out of pre-Norman round pillar. "Derbysh. Ant. Soc."
 Aston (71, S.W.), broken cr. sh.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

- Stapleford (71, S.W.), sh. of cr. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xlii, p. 257

STAFFORDSHIRE.

- Leek (81, S.W.), cylindrical cr. sh. erect, "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxiii, p. 436; broken cr. sh. erect, ditto in wall of south porch. G. F. B.
 Stoke-upon-Trent (72, N.W.), broken cr. sh. Ditto, p. 436
 Checkley (72, N.W.), two broken cr. shs. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xlii, p. 258
 Draycot (72, N.W.), Danish (?) pillar; now made into pillar for sundial. Plot, "Nat. Hist. of Staff.," p. 432
 Ilam (72, N.E.), three broken cr. shs. erect. Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxiii, p. 432
 Chebsey (72, S.W.), broken cr. sh. erect. Ditto, p. 432
 Stafford (72, S.W.), ins. st. Ditto, xxxi, p. 216
 Rolleston (72, S.E.), cr. erect. Ditto, vii, p. 334
 Wolverhampton (62, S.W.), cylindrical pillar erect. Ditto, xxix, p. 106

LINCOLNSHIRE.

- Crowle (86), sh. of cr. with Runic insn. "Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.," iv, 2nd Ser., p. 187; Stephens' "Runic Mon.," iii
 Northorpe (86), frs. "Proc. Ant. Lond.," iv, 2nd Ser., p. 187
 Kirton-in-Lindsey (86), frs. Ditto
 Humberstone (85), two frs. built into walls of church
 Stow (83), two slabs with interl. work. Boutell, "Christian Mon.," p. 3
 Hackthorn (83), cr. slab. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," vi, p. 400
 Lincoln (83), cr. sl., "Gent. Mag.," 1794, p. 500; cr. sl. in Cath. Cloisters; inscr. sl. in church of St. Mary le Wigford. Hübner, No. 170
 Colsterworth (70), broken cr. sh. and fr. "Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc."
 Saxilby (83), fr. of slab with interl.
 Howell (70), cr. slab. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xxvii, p. 196
 Castle Bytham (64)
 Crowland (64), St. Guthlac's St. Hübner, "Christian Inscriptions," p. 63; Birch, "Memorials of St. Guthlac," and "Journ. B. A. A."

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

- Castor (64), base of cr. erect. Murray, "Guide," p. 60

- Peterborough (64), coped tombstone,—cast in Architectural Museum,
Westminster; broken cr. sh., cr. slab
Desborough (64), three slabs. Sir H. Dryden, "Sketches"
Stowe Nine Churches (53, S.E.), two broken cr. shs. Ditto
Mears Ashby (52, N.W.), cr. head. Ditto
Clapton (52, N.E.), fr. Ditto
Northampton (52, S.W.), two broken cr. shs. from St. Peter's Church,
now in the Museum. Ditto

LEICESTERSHIRE.

- Harston (70), cr. slab. G. F. B.
Sproxtton (70), cr. sh. and head. G. F. B.
Ashfordby (63, N. E.), broken cr. sh. Nichol's "Leicestershire," vol.
iii, p. 17
Thurnby (63, N.E.), four small Saxon headstones. "Assoc. Arch.
Soc. Rep.," 1871, p. 183

RUTLANDSHIRE.

- Greetham (64), broken slab. Murray, "Guide," p. 230

BEDFORDSHIRE.

- Bedford (52, S.E.), sh. of cr. built into tower of St. Peter's Church.
"Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.," ix, p. 265

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

- Cambridge (51, S.W.), cr. and several *coffin-lids* and small headstones.
"Archæologia," xvii, p. 228; "Journ. B. A. Inst.," xii, p. 201
Haddenham (51, N.W.), base of cr. inser. Hübner, No. 169

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

- Fletton (64), cr. ins. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," ii, p. 280

NORFOLK.

- Rockland (66, S.W.), coffin-lid. "Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc."

MIDDLESEX.

- London (7), slab with Runic insn. in Guildhall Museum, fr. in British
Museum. "Mém. Soc. Ant. du Nord," 1848, p. 286; "Journ.
B. A. Inst.," x, p. 82. Cr. head in Arch. Mus., Westminster;
cr. head and base in Mus. Soc. Ant.

KENT.

- Sandwich (3), two frs. with Runic insn. Stephens, "Runic Mons.,"
i, p. 363
Dover (3), cr. slab with Runic insn. "Archæologia," xxv, p. 604

SUSSEX.

- Bexhill (5), coped tombstone. "Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc."

WORCESTERSHIRE.

- Cropton (54, S.W.), head of cr. "Gent. Mag.," 1793, p. 791

HAMPSHIRE.

Whitchurch (12), Saxon headstone inscr. and sculpt. Hübner's "Inscr.," No. 165

WILTSHIRE.

Bradford-on-Avon (19), scl. slab. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxiii, p. 215
Britford (15), scl. jambs of chancel-arch. Ditto, xxxii, p. 496

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Keynsham (19), fr. of slab. Pooley, "Crosses of Somerset," p. 29
Kelston (19), broken cr. shaft, cr. slab. Ditto, p. 44
Bath (19), two broken cr. heads. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," iii, p. 356
Roberow (19), slab with interl. animal. Pooley, "Crosses," p. 8
West Camel (18), broken cr. sh. Ditto, p. 157

DEVONSHIRE.

Copleston (26), cr. sh. erect. "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxxiv, p. 242

CORNWALL.

St. Columb Major (30), cr. head. Blight, "Cornish Crosses," p. 30
Lanivet (30), two crs. erect. "Gent. Mag.," 1805, p. 1201
Temple Moor (30), cr. erect. Blight, "Corn. Crosses," p. 29
St. Neots (30), base of cr. ins., broken cr. shaft. Ditto, p. 128
St. Breward (30), cr. erect. Ditto, p. 32
St. Roche (30), cr. erect. Lysons, "Mag. Brit."
Lanhydrock (30), cr. erect. Blight, "Corn. Crosses," p. 34
St. Cleer's (25), sh. of cr. Murray, "Guide"
Roseworthy (33), ins. cr. erect, now removed to Lanherne. Lysons, "Mag. Brit.," iii, p. cexlv
Camborne (33), ins. cr. slab. Borlase, "Cornwall", pl. 36
Sancreed (33), cr. erect. "Journ. B. A. Inst.," iv, p. 311

Note.—There are a great number of other crosses in Cornwall, either plain or with the Crucifixion. The ones given above are only those with Celtic ornamentation.

SAXON SUNDIALS, with inscriptions and early ornament, exist at Bishopstone, Sussex, and Old Byland, Yorkshire; with inscriptions only at Kirkdale, Weaverthorpe, Aldborough, and Edstone, in Yorkshire; with ornament only at Warnford, Corhampton, and Winchester, Hants; and Daglingworth, Gloucestershire. D. H. Haigh in "Yorkshire Archæol. Journ.," v, and "Archæol. Æliana," 1856; Hübner's "Christian Inscr.;" Du Noyer in "Journ. B. A. Inst.," vol. xxv; "Sussex Archæol. Coll.," viii, p. 322; "Archæologia," v, p. 188, and vi, p. 40; Syer Cuming in "Journ. B. A. Assoc.," xxix, p. 279.

RHÔS-CROWTHER CHURCH, PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY THE REV. G. H. SCOTT, M.A., RECTOR.

(Read at the Tenby Congress.)

THIS ancient church consists of a north porch, 15 ft. 10 ins. by 11 ft. 8 ins.; nave, 46 ft. 6 ins. by 17 ft. 6 ins.; north transept, appurtenant to the estate of Hentland, 17 ft. 3 ins. by 12 ft. 10 ins.; chancel, 21 ft. 3 ins. by 12 ft. 3 ins.; south chancel, appurtenant to Eastington mansion, 20 ft. 3 ins. by 13 ft.; south transept or tower, 18 ft. by 11 ft.; also a small mortuary chapel at the south-western end of nave, 12 ft. by 8 ft. But it must be observed that the walls are singularly out of square. Thus the west wall of the porch is 4 ins. longer than the east wall. The Hentland transept bears away to the east, 1 ft. 9 ins.; and the chancel is about 4 ins. longer in the north wall than the south. Originally there was a south porch; the arch over the font, opposite the present porch, being the entrance. It is supposed that owing to the fierce gales from the south-west, so prevalent in this country, it was pulled down, and the large north porch erected instead; or it may have been built for the greater convenience of the family at Eastington, who would naturally have their entrance on this side of the church.

There were only two coats of arms originally over the entrance, one of which appears to be that of the Whites of Hentland. The third coat of arms, of the Dawes of Bangerston¹ apparently, was originally in Angle Church, as was also the little image, over the entrance-door, of our Saviour on His throne, in the act of blessing; and were thrown aside at the restoration of that church in 1855. The Dawes of Bangerston were connected by marriage with the family at Eastington, as appears by the monumental slab in Eastington chancel.

¹ This place is spelt in the Hentland Transept "Baunjeston", and in the Eastington or south Chancel, "Banieston".

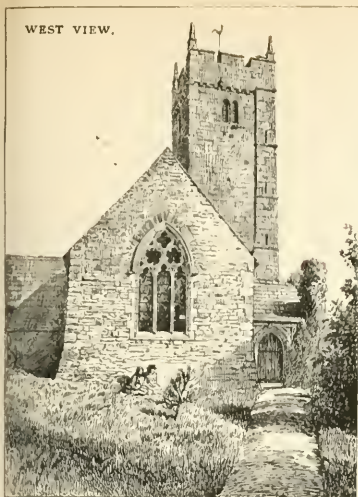
The parish must at one time have had aristocratic and wealthy families as there are three private chapels,—the Hentland of the Whites ; the Eastington of the Perrots, Philipps, and the Meareses of the last century ; and the small chapel now used as a vestry,—but it is not known to what mansion this was appurtenant.

The church built at first was simply the nave, at the eastern gable of which were hung two bells ; the arch of the northern one has been destroyed. Then the chancel was formed by the eastern wall being broken through from the nave : it has no regular chancel-arch. Then the Hentland transept was built, with its altar and west window, which window was blocked up when the northern porch was erected. The northern hagioscope into the chancel was then formed. The next portion built seems to have been the tower-transept with its large hagioscope ; but the building of the tower destroyed the tomb of the founder in the nave, supposing this tomb (in the same position as the founder's tomb in the neighbouring church at Pwlcrochon) to have been his. The south chancel, or Eastington Chapel, seems to have been built the last ; the pillar and two seeming arches being only part of the chancel-wall broken through, as is also the case with the entrance to the little mortuary chapel at the south-west end of the nave, of which nothing is known. The arches of the two transepts are handsome, large, limestone arches. The chancel had originally two more windows,—one over the piscina, blocked up by the building of the Eastington chancel, and one destroyed by the northern hagioscope. The nave had also a small window, half of which was blocked up by the tower being built.

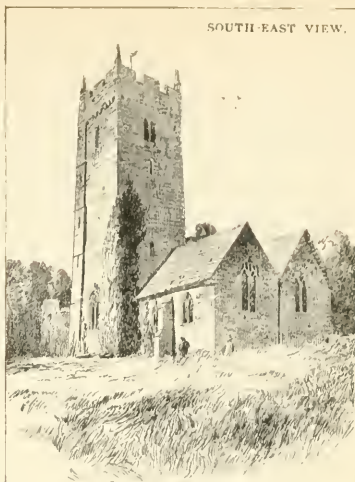
The principal points of the church, worthy of remark, are the canopied tomb in the chancel, and the two recesses at the eastern end of the two chancels. If these were not intended for seats for the priest, it is difficult to understand what they were intended for.¹ The cano-

¹ The late Bishop of St. David's (Thirlwall) was of opinion that these recesses were aumbries. He said he had seen some in Italy resembling them, but confessed he had never seen any like them in England or Wales. Certainly there is no aumbry in the Eastington Chancel if this is not one. The recess here is exactly as discovered. Both

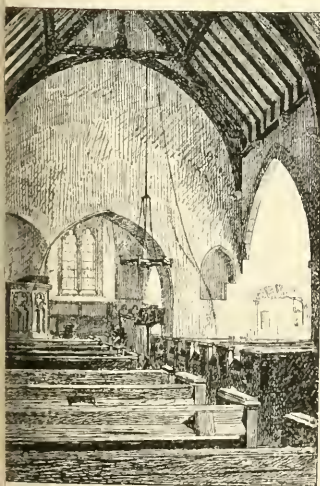
WEST VIEW.



SOUTH-EAST VIEW.



SOUTH VIEW.



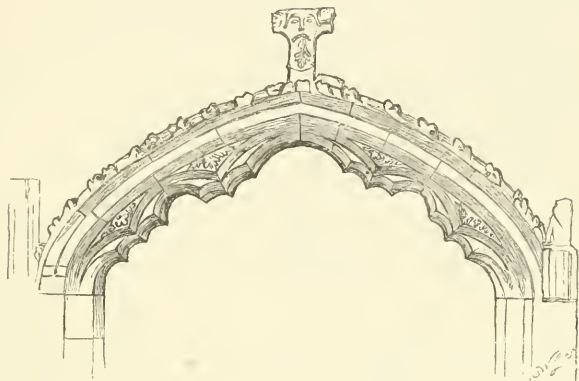
INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.



INTERIOR LOOKING WEST.



pied tomb in the north wall of the chancel, which was evidently erected subsequently to the chancel itself (for it extends across the greater part of the aumbry), is remarkable for its being surmounted by a face, from the mouth of which hangs a trefoil-leaf, and on each side is another face. The meaning of this curious carving was long a puzzle to all antiquaries; but it has been suggested by a neighbouring clergyman that it is intended for an emblem of the Holy Trinity,—the three faces and the trefoil leaf. The figure (if ever there was one) under the



canopy has been long lost, as is also one in the Eastington chancel. The other canopy there contains a figure of a lady with a wimple over her chin. These wimples are still worn in the northern part of the county. In the chancel-pavement are two large incised stones, which were found, one under the old reading-desk, and the other under the old altar-rails. They are supposed to be (from their crosses) the original altar-slabs of the chancel and the Eastington Chapel adjoining.

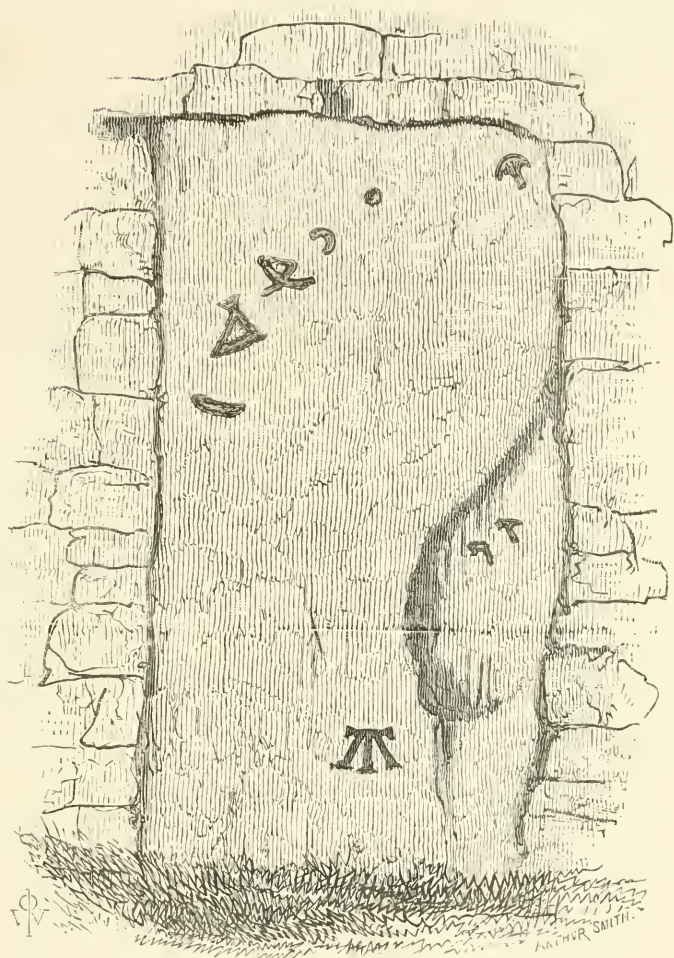
In the chancel is a monumental stone to the memory

were filled up with stones when the church was restored in 1869. The one in the chancel of the church is exact only as to its width and depth. When the filling up was taken out, the eastern wall was apparently falling, so the recess was built up as it is now. The present aumbry, half blocked by the tomb, was mortared up; and if so done at the time the tomb was erected, the recess *might* have been made as an aumbry to supply its place, if Bishop Thirlwall's theory is admissible. A similar recess was discovered at the eastern end of the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Pembroke, when it was restored two years ago.

of a Philipps¹ of Picton, who married a daughter of the Right Hon. Sir John Perrott. The Perrotts having by marriage obtained the mansion and estate of Haroldstone, near Haverfordwest, had removed to that place about a hundred years before, but retaining the estate of Eastington. Unfortunately there is no exact date to most of the monumental stones in the different parts of the church. But Sir John Perrott himself died in 1592. In the Hentland aisle or transept are the half-obliterated memorials of Griffiths White, twice High Sheriff of Pembroke-shire, with his wife, Margaret Watkins. He died in 1589; she A.D. 1600. History tells us that he was a cousin of Sir John Perrott, but there was a continual feud between them. The other memorial is to a child of a Griffith White, son and heir apparent of a Henry White of Hennllan, who had married a daughter of Griffith Dawes of Baunjeston. The child died in 1668. In the Eastington chancel is a stone, mostly illegible, but stating that "he married Grace Dawes, sister to Griffith Dawes of Banieston." Either he or she died in 1686, leaving five daughters.

In the churchyard is an old cross, dilapidated, the head of it being gone; remarkable chiefly for a circular hole in the base, supposed to have been intended for contributions to the priest from his flock. In the wall of the churchyard, near the southern gate, is a *Roman* stone, according to Professor Westwood, with curious letters; but as an old church-rate account-book says that the stones to form the stile here were brought from Pembroke, it is impossible to conjecture where the stone was originally.

¹ The Philipps tomb is that of Hugh, second son of Sir John Philipps of Picton, by Ann, daughter of Sir John Perrott, K.B., Lord Deputy of Ireland, P.C. The said Sir John Philipps was Sheriff of Pembroke-shire in 1595, and his son Hugh, buried at Rhôs-Crowther, was ancestor to the present Baronet. This account was given to me by the present Dean of St. David's when he was Vicar of Castlemartin, 1867.



INSCRIBED STONE AT RHOS-CROWTHER.



THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF DORE ABBEY.

BY T. BLASHILL, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

(Read 20 May 1885.)

ABBEYDORE (to call it by its modern name) was visited by the Association at the Hereford Congress in 1870. On that occasion Mr. Gordon M. Hills (then our Treasurer) gave a lucid description of the fabric; but no special account of it has been printed in our *Journal*, nor does any account at all adequate to the importance of the building exist in any other publication. At a subsequent meeting of the Association, Mr. Charles H. Henman, who was with us at our visit, exhibited an excellent series of drawings of the church; and I am now able to show enlarged copies of some of these, as well as of a most interesting series of sketches of capitals by the late Mr. Edmund Sharpe, M.A., published in his *Ornamentation of the Transitional Period*.

Leland, who was here shortly before the dissolution of the Monastery, and would hear the account then current, says that Dore was founded by Robert de Ewyas, youngest son of Harold, lord of Ewyas, in King Stephen's time. The architecture of the earlier portion of the existing remains sufficiently confirms this statement. Our Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., has given in our *Journal*¹ a MS.² written about the middle of the thirteenth century, and containing a list of Cistercian abbeys, amongst which, under the date 1147, we find "De Valle D..re, A." The final initial shows that it was an English house; and though the second letter of the name is obliterated, we may confidently read it as "Dore". Two seventeenth century MSS. in the Cottonian Collection (also printed by Mr. Birch), which profess to give the derivation of the Cistercian houses of Great Britain, but with many obvious inaccuracies by the scribe, as to dates

¹ Vol. xxvi, p. 357.

² Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton., Vespasian A, vi, f. 54b.

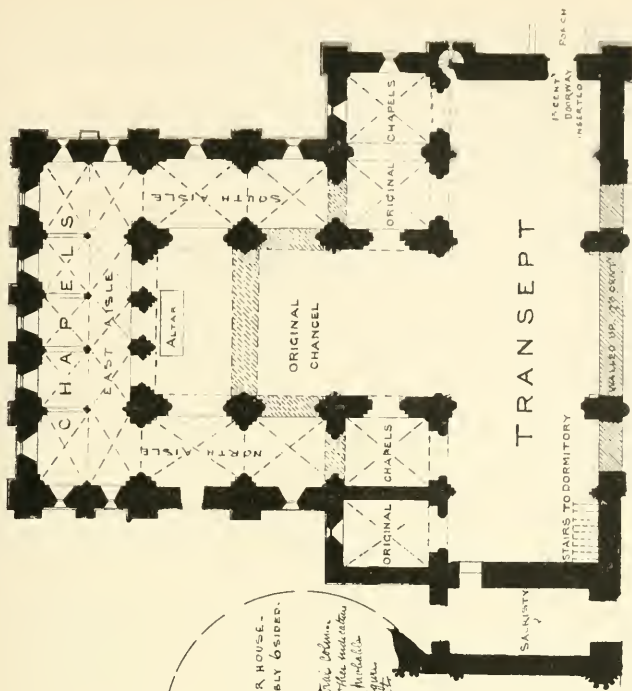
at least, make Monemouth the parent house of Dore, and Gracia Dei (Grace Dieu, near Monmouth) an offshoot of this last. A document printed in the Appendix to the *Swinfield Roll* (published by the Camden Society) confirms and adds to these evidences as to the date of foundation.

The Abbey was founded upon part of the parish of Bacton, lying near to the river Dour, which gives its name to the valley. "Dwr" (the ancient British name for water) has formed, or is allied to, the root of many such river-names, as the Derwent, the Adour, the Douro, and the Italian Dora; and the Cistercian monks, to whom French would be a familiar tongue, easily modified the name which they found in use to suit their new Abbey of the Val d'Or, which survives as the Golden Valley to this day.¹ Leland says, "The Broke of *Dour* runneth by the Abbey of *Dour*, and there it breketh a litle above the Monasterie into two Armes, whereof the less Arme renneth thorough the Monasterie. The bigger Arme levith the Abbey a Bowe shot of, on the right hond or bank. The confluence is againe hard byneth the Abbey." This description is accurate to-day, the lesser arm being the artificial channel made by the monks to turn their mill (which office it still performs), and afterwards to run as a cleansing sewer under the domestic buildings.

The remains of the Abbey now consist of the choir with its surrounding chapels, and the transept. These have been preserved in a tolerably complete condition (wanting most of the vaulting) through the action of Viscount Scudamore, who in 1633 and 1634, a century after the dissolution, repaired the fabric, and endowed it, to serve as the parish church. There are, besides, remains of the easternmost arches of the nave, and some indications, more or less clear, of the cloister-buildings, which were on the north side of the church, and comprised the sacristy, adjoining the transept, with the chapter-house beyond,

¹ This name is not uncommon. There is a Golden Valley in Gloucestershire, and at least one other in England. In the MS. first quoted, and also in another MS. of early thirteenth century date (*B. A. Journal*, xxvi, p. 360), we find an Abbey called Aurea Valle, founded "vij Idus Marcii" 1131, a continental house.

- DORE ABBEY -



W. H. St. John
1885

SITE OF CHAPTER HOUSE -
 POLYGONAL - PROBABLY 6-SIDED -
*The portions of the plan shown
 (low wall) and the other indication
 show the basis of the plan
 shown in the plan of the
 chapter house in the plan*

MONKS' DAY ROOM &c
 WITH DORMITORY OVER

NORTHERN BUILDINGS
 (KITCHEN REFECTORY)

MILL STREAM AND SLUICE

CLOISTER
 GARTH

NAVE

TRANSEPT

ORIGINAL
 CHANCEL

ORIGINAL
 CHAPELS

ORIGINAL
 CHAPELS

SOUTH AISLE

EAST AISLE

NORTH AISLE

STAIRS TO DORMITORY

WALLS UP TO 27' 6" HIGH

DOORWAY
 CLOISTER

and, no doubt, the day-room, the calefactory, refectory, kitchen, and the usual buildings which on the west side of the cloister joined on to the north-west part of the nave. Of these, the slight remains of the chapter-house are particularly curious and interesting.

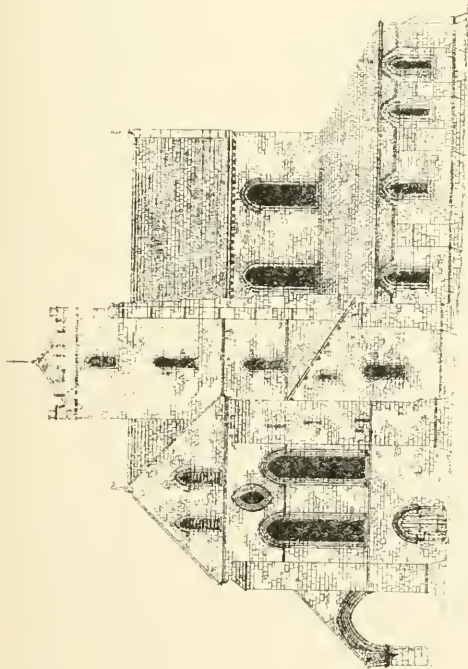
There are evident signs that certain parts in and near the transept are older than the parts eastward of them. These older parts exactly agree, so far as they go, with the scheme on which the Cistercians built all their earlier churches. I have, therefore, ventured to indicate on the plan this earlier idea; showing how it must have been modified soon afterwards so as to produce the exceedingly fine arrangement which we now see, and which is unique in England. The Cistercian Abbey of Buildwas, in Shropshire (founded in 1135, but of somewhat later architecture), is a good example of the earlier mode, and I have used it for comparison with the actual remains at Dore. There was usually, in a Cistercian church, a rather long nave (used for the services of the lay brethren, and probably of other persons), with a very short choir and a transept, from each arm of which projected, towards the east, two (sometimes three) chapels. These early churches had, therefore, besides the high altar, four minor altars, which would be sufficient, in the earlier days, for the celebration of additional masses, and for the commemorations of the deceased benefactors of the community. There was no Lady Chapel of large dimensions, such as we find attached to most of the large churches of other religious orders. The churches were all dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, whose name was, in the twelfth century, greatly exciting the devotion of Christians.

It is hardly possible that the Church of St. Mary at Dore could be quite completed on its original plan before a great development took place in the ideas and in the importance of the Cistercian order. The wealthy laity began to desire to be buried with the Cistercian monks, or to have their names commemorated in their services, making large grants of land to the monasteries with that intent. It therefore became necessary, in many cases, to extend the modest dimensions of the original choirs so as to provide several additional chapels, with minor altars, for such services. There were several ways in which this

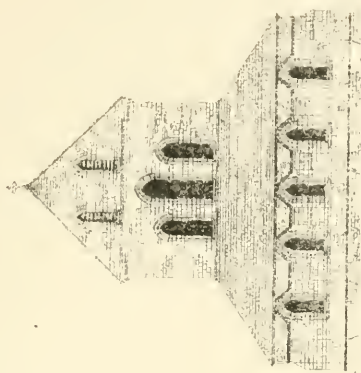
might be done. In France they rather favoured the idea of a chevet of chapels radiating round a semicircular apse, as we find at Clairvaux, founded by St. Bernard. It is not known that more than two English Cistercian churches (those of Croxden and Beaulieu) were extended on this plan. The usual plan here was to make an enlarged choir with aisles, as at Rivaulx, and afterwards at Tintern and Netley; but at Fountains an enormous transept was built, in the thirteenth century, across the east end of the enlarged choir, now known as the Chapel of the Nine (probably seven) Altars. But for our present purpose the enormously large church of Byland Abbey, built about 1160-70, is most interesting. We there find the choir-aisles joined together by another aisle built across the east end of the choir, giving space for five additional eastern altars in all. At Dore a fine range of five chapels was built in a similar position. They were divided by dwarf-walls, and could be well seen through the three fine arches of the choir at the back of the high altar. Even this development of chapels seems to have been found insufficient, for altars were afterwards added against the outer walls of the south aisle.

That the object was, in all these cases, to provide chantry chapels for the benefit of lay benefactors we may clearly infer. Camden says that Dore was a place wherein very many of the nobility and gentry of these parts were buried. The families of Plokenet, Geneville, and Clifford, may be instanced amongst them. At Ebrach, in Germany, the Abbey Church is known to have been built, about 1200, with special intention for the burial of the laity. There we find not only east end chapels, as at Dore, but a range of chapels outside each of the choir-aisles. Riddagshausen, of rather earlier date, was similarly constructed. The total number of small chapels attached to choir and transept was, at Dore seven; at Ebrach sixteen, besides one large mortuary chapel; and at Riddagshausen twelve.

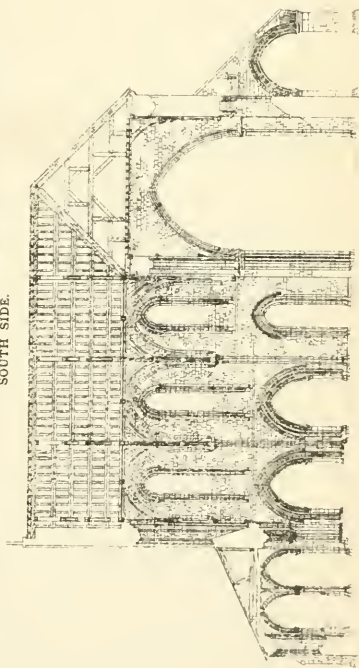
It seems possible that it was at Dore that this striking idea of eastern aisle and chapels was first fully developed. The new work at Dore, in modification and extension of the original design, was done, so far as I can judge, about 1185, which was the thirty-first year of Henry II. It is,



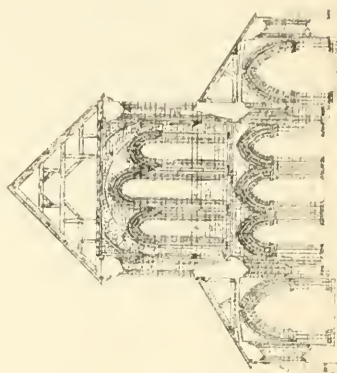
SOUTH SIDE.



EAST END.



SECTION LOOKING SOUTH.



SECTION LOOKING EAST.



perhaps, the most remarkable English example of the style called Transitional, standing between the Norman work of the twelfth century and the Early English work of the thirteenth century. There is one narrow, round-headed window in the transept, which probably belongs to the earlier work. All other arches in the church are pointed, and of beautiful proportions, while the carved capitals are of types peculiar to the reign of Henry II, showing in several cases early attempts of the sculptor to carve the conventional foliage which was then being introduced, and soon after became characteristic of the work of the thirteenth century. The capitals of the two piers which remain of the nave-arcade are of particularly chaste and elegant designs.

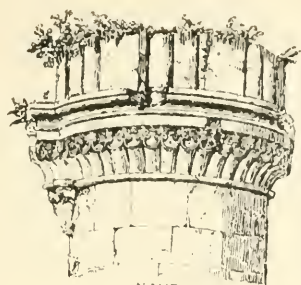
The nave has been so nearly destroyed that we can only judge of its design from these piers. It would be necessary to build them at the same time as the transept, so that their arches might form abutments to the great arches in the centre of the church: indeed, the monks' choir would extend as far westward as these piers. But it is not probable that the whole nave, which was of great length, could have been built at the same time.

Before the end of the thirteenth century large grants of land and of church livings had been made to the Monastery. Alan de Plokenet, lord of Kilpeck, the Alans of Alansmore, the Cliffords, and others, gave benefactions that can still be identified. In 1216, the last year of King John, who made several visits to the neighbouring Castle of Kilpeck, he gave "all the land between the river Dore and the rivulet called Trivelbrook", a tract of 500 acres in extent. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that they were, about the middle of the thirteenth century, executing considerable works. In 1260, Peter de Aquablanca, Bishop of Hereford, issued a letter granting twenty days' abatement, or release of penance, to such as contributed to the building of "the sumptuous church of Dore". This probably refers, in part, to the completion of the nave. His successor, Thomas de Cantilupe, called St. Thomas of Hereford, consecrated the church at the risk of his life, owing to the armed opposition of the Welsh partisans of the Bishop of Menevia, who claimed this part of the diocese. The church would,

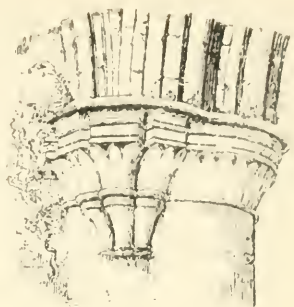
as was the practice, be blessed only during its early stages, and not consecrated until completion.

But about the same period new buildings were being erected at the east side of the cloister-garth. The junction of earlier buildings with the north transept can still be seen, as well as similar marks of the loftier buildings that now succeeded them. These buildings would consist of the sacristy, the chapter-house (parts of which are still in evidence), also other apartments that have quite disappeared. Early in the year 1882 I carefully examined these remains, in preparation for a visit of the Woolhope and the Malvern Field Clubs, of the former of which I was then the President, and I came to the conclusion that the chapter-house was a polygonal building. This was very surprising, as all English Cistercian chapter-houses then known were quadrangular, except that of Margam in South Wales, which was of about the same date, and 50 feet in diameter. By careful search I have since ascertained that the chapter-house of Dore was a twelve-sided building of beautiful thirteenth century design, having a clustered column in the centre, the base of which, prepared for six large shafts and six smaller intermediate shafts, I identified in a rockery in the Rectory garden. I found also in the belfry a base from one of the angles of the interior, prepared for a large vaulting shaft, and two smaller shafts that carried the wall-ribs, thus fully establishing the shape of the building. I think also there are remains of the small arcade that ran round the lower part of the walls, forming stalls for the abbot and monks in their chapter. Those who know the splendid chapter-houses of Westminster, Salisbury, and Wells, will easily picture this at Dore, which seems to have been a most worthy example of that class of buildings.

Numerous fragments of carved work, such as caps of columns and bosses from vaulted ceilings, show that Dore Abbey was equal in beauty to anything that remains to us of the work of the thirteenth century. Two large bosses, belonging probably to the vaulting of the chancel, bear figures of the coronation of the Blessed Virgin and of the Virgin and Child. Our excavation made in search for the west wall of the nave produced an interesting portion of the canopy of a tomb or shrine that had been



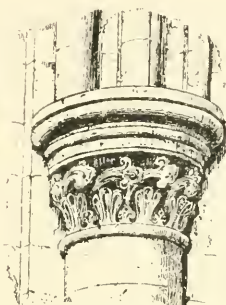
NAVE



NAVE



CHOIR



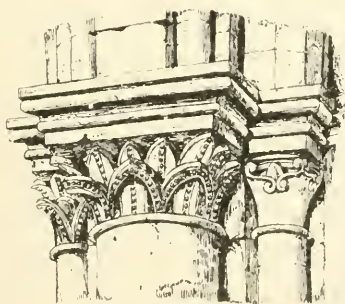
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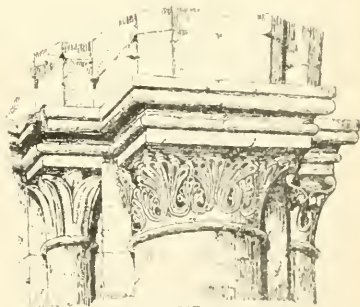
CHOIR



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gilded. Two thirteenth century effigies of knights, cross-legged, and in chain-mail, are preserved in the chancel; also a small episcopal figure, measuring only 15 inches in length, that has long been the subject of speculation in relation to the question of "boy-bishops". That it covered the heart of some bishop buried here was the opinion of our late Associate Mr. W. H. Black and others.¹ The stone altar, a fine slab, 14 ft. long, 4 ft. wide, and 3 ins. thick, occupies its ancient position, in which it was replaced when the fabric was restored as the church of the parish.

There is in the angle formed by the choir and south transept a large tower which has always been said to have been built by Viscount Scudamore as part of the work of restoration done by him in 1631. From a careful examination I have no doubt that it was actually built by the monks towards the close of their tenure. The original rules of the Cistercian order prohibited high towers, and enjoined the use of only one or at most two bells, which were not to be rung together; but it is certain that these rules became much relaxed. In the fifteenth century a fine tower was added to the north transept of Fountains Abbey, while at Kirkstall the low, central tower was raised. The tower at Dore would probably be built towards the close of that century; and it is the latest piece of architectural evidence of the existence here of this Cistercian house.

Now and then, at distant dates, we find slight mention of Dore Abbey. In 1236 Cadogan, Bishop of Bangor, resigned his see to become a monk here. He was a scholar, and author of a book of homilies. In 1274 and 1275 the Abbot of Dore was deputed to meet Llewelyn at the ford of Montgomery, and receive his oath of allegiance; but in each case the Welshman excused himself from keeping the appointment. In 1330 the Abbot was Richard Straddel, a native of these parts. He also was a writer of homilies. The hamlet of Monnington Straddle and Straddle Bridge, in the adjoining parish of Vowchurch, preserve the name. In 1380 Walter de Blasel was presented by the Abbot and Convent of Dore to the vicarage of Avenbury. The household book of Bishop

¹ See *Journal*, xxvii, p. 389.

Swinfield shows that he called at Dore on the invitation of the Abbot.

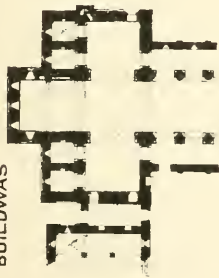
Dore Abbey is specially mentioned as one that was always on good terms with its bishop,—a somewhat notable fact, and a proof of the general good government of the Monastery: indeed, the only evidence of corrupt government that I have met with speaks strongly in favour of the desire that existed for reform. In the British Museum (Harl. 6148, f. 151) is the following letter or copy, written probably in 1501 by Arthur Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII, at that time in his fifteenth year:—

“By Prince Arthure. To the Right Reverend father in god our Righte trustye and welbeloved the Bysshop of Salisburie.

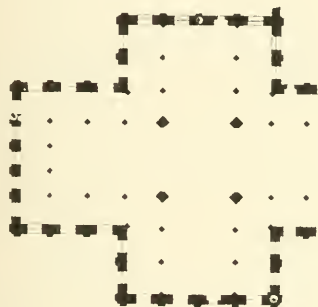
“Right reverende fadre in god, Right trusty and welbeloved we grete you well. And where we be enformed and also understand that by meane of suche inordinate Rule and governance as heretofore hath byn used within the monastery of Dore and precyncts of the same in the dayes of Damp Richard late Abbote there, as well by grannts and lettres patents passed thens ayenst due ordre and forme, as otherwise, by excessive costs for defaulte of good oversight the said monastery is gretly in ruyn and decay, wherthrough without the more spedy reformation the Divine service ther cannott be mayntened ne upholden to the laude and prayse of almyghty god, as belongeth in that partie. Wherefore and inasmoche as Damp John now abbate ther, of thordre of Cisteoux, admytted thether by the Reformatour and othrs fadres of that Religion whiche by gods sufferaunce and aide of vertuose and wel disposid people entendeth as he saithe to do for the weale, encrease ande Reducyng of the said place to the former good state and ordre as in hym is or shalbe possible. We desir and hertely pray you that in all suche his matiers and causes as he hath to pursue unto you at this tyme concernyng the premysses, ye wolbe his favorable good lorde according to equitie and conscience, the rather at this our instance and contemplation of theis our lettres wherby you shall not only in our opinion do a dede meritorioux anempst god but also unto us Right singuler Pleasure. Ande over this that it may lyke yon to gyve credence to the said nowe abbote in the causes above recyted, whiche can declare unto you the circumstances of the same more at lengthe. Yeven under our Signet at the manour of beaudeley the viii daye of June.”

Thirty-three years afterwards, in 1534, Dore Abbey was dissolved, with all the smaller monasteries (those worth less than £200 per ann.), and John Radburn, the Abbot, with eight monks, went out to live on the small pensions that were allowed to them. The Abbey and its lands were granted to John Scudamore, one of whose

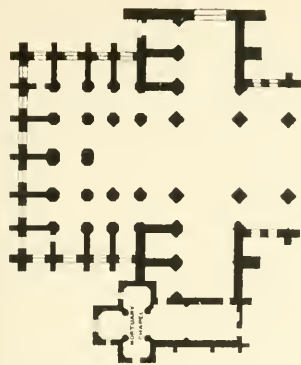
BUILDWAS



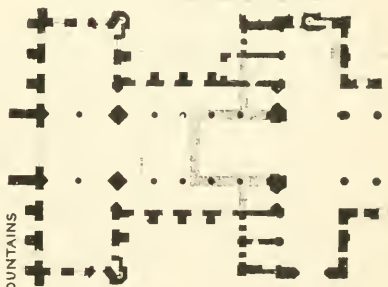
BYLAND



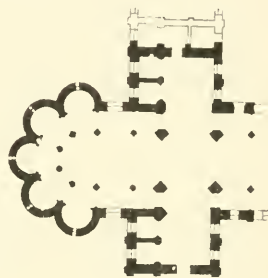
EBRACH



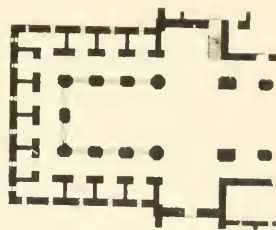
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descendants bought the great tithes that belonged to it. The destruction of the buildings began at once. Of all the endowments that had existed for religious purposes, all that remained available for the existing parish of Abbeydore was a sum of fifty shillings per ann.; and before the partial restoration of the church in the next century, it was remembered that one John Gyles (called Sir Gyles) used to come and read prayers in the ruins, standing under an arch to keep his book from the wet.

The restoration of the choir and transepts of Dore Abbey Church by John Viscount Scudamore belongs to a different chapter in its history; and, indeed, forms an important item in the history of the Church of England in the seventeenth century. The chief contractor was that noted builder John Abell, whose timber roofs replaced the great vaults that had been destroyed. The original vaulting of the aisles and eastern chapels still exists. It was reconsecrated, with an elaborate ceremonial, on Palm Sunday, 22nd March 1634. Laud was Scudamore's adviser throughout the whole course of this probably the first church restoration in this country, and the acts that were done in the reconsecration service were brought up against the Archbishop when he fell on evil days.

The silver Communion-plate, bought with a purse of gold given by Lord Scudamore at the offertory, is still in use, and duly in charge of the present Rector, the Rev. Alfred Phillipps, who is careful to collect and preserve such evidences as are brought to light of the original condition of "the sumptuous Church of Dore".

BRAMBLETYE HOUSE.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read 5 December 1883.)

AMONG the many relics of bygone times which have escaped general notice, though still invested with local interest, and which illustrate the history of our country, stand the ruins of Brambletye House, near the northern boundary of Sussex. Opportunity has been afforded to me of investigating its history since we separated at the conclusion of our last session, the results of which I propose to submit for your consideration this evening.

Before proceeding with the history of this house, I may mention that the events which clustered round its family history during the troublous times of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth, to the restoration of Charles II, formed in 1826 the subject of a romance from the pen of Horace Smith, one of the two brothers so well known as the authors of *Rejected Addresses*, which Horsfield, in his *History of Sussex*, alludes to as "one of the most remarkable and interesting works of fiction that the English language can boast, and which has placed the name of Horace Smith on all but a like elevation with that of the immortal Scott in the temple of fame." From a recent perusal of this work I can fully endorse this encomium, though, like Scott's historical novels, there is little to be relied upon when the object of research confines us to the sober domain of fact.

The manor of Brambletye is situate near East Grinstead, in Sussex, on the borders of Ashdown Forest. The manor-house, which is now in ruins, is within three miles of East Grinstead, to the right of the road leading to Forest Row. This house was built by Sir Henry Compton, who was lord of the manor in the early part of the reign of James I (prior to which time there was an old moated manor-house), which, says Horsfield, writing in 1835, "remains in probably little worse condition than when it was deserted by Sir Henry, though I am informed nought of this old moated house remains but a few bricks surrounded by a swamp."

In the time of Edward the Confessor Brambletye manor was held by one Cola of the King. At the Conquest it became the property of the Earls of Mortain and Cornwall, and is thus described in *Domesday*:—"Radulf holds Brambertei of the Earl. Cola held it of King Edward. It has been rated at one hide. The arable is one ploughland and a half. Here is a priest with a villain, one plough and a half, and xiii bondsmen. A wood and herbage yield 12 hogs. There are five acres of meadow, and a mill of 2 shillings. In the time of King Edward the value was 30 shillings. The present estimate is 20 shillings."

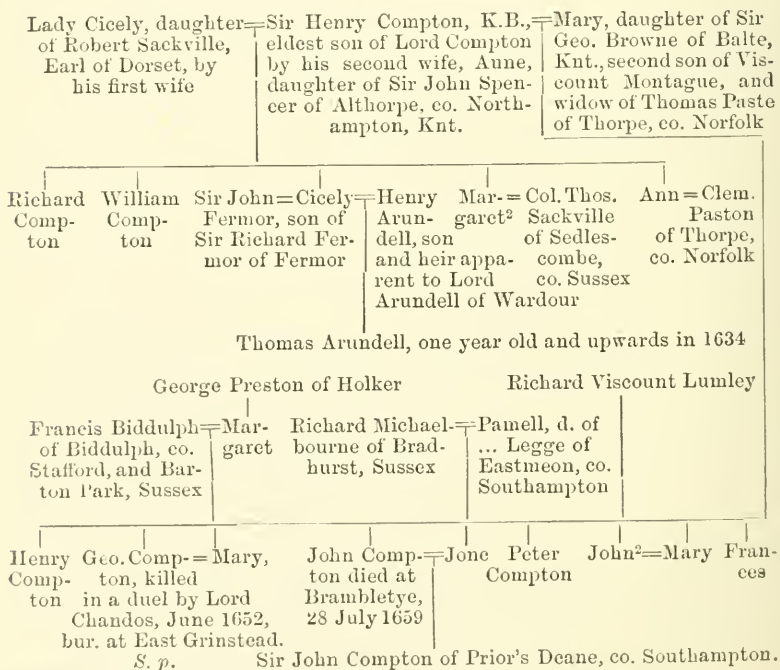
From the beginning of the reign of Edward I to the beginning of that of Edward III, the manor was held by a family of the name of Audeham; but at the latter period John, son of John de St. Clere, was seized of the lordship. It continued in this family many years. In the 7th Henry VI, Galfridus Motte, *clericus*, reconveyed to William Cheyne, Knt., and to others (*inter alia*) his right to the manor of Brambletye. There is no record of successive owners until the commencement of the reign of James I, when, as before stated, Sir Henry Compton, who, it is supposed, built the house now in ruins, was lord of the manor.¹

Sir Henry Compton, Knight of the Bath, was eldest son of Henry, first Baron Compton (who was summoned by writ to the House of Peers in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth), by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe in the county of Northampton, Knt. Collins, in his *Peerage* (ed. 1741), states that the wife of Sir Henry was Cicely, daughter to Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset (by his first wife), by whom he had three sons and three daughters,—Cicely, Mary, and Margaret; and William, Colonel Henry Compton (who was slain in a duel at Putney Marsh by the Lord Chandos, and buried at East Grinstead in June 1652), and George Compton; but this branch is now extinct.

This is by far too summary a method of disposing of the issue of Sir Henry Compton. It appears from Berry's

¹ Horsfield's *History of Sussex*, vol. i, p. 388 (1835)

*County Genealogies*¹ that he was twice married,—first to Cicely, daughter of Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset; and secondly to Mary, daughter of Sir George Browne of Balte, Knt., second son of Viscount Montague, the widow of Thomas Paste of Thorpe, county Norfolk. The issue of these two marriages is shown by the following pedigree, compiled from Berry's *Genealogies of Sussex*, in which the coat of arms of the family is given as that worn by the Compton family since the augmentation given by Henry VIII to Sir William Compton, the grandfather of Sir Henry, with the crest also granted by Henry VIII to Sir William, viz., a demi-dragon erased *gu.*, issuing through a ducal coronet *or*; the crest now borne by the family being, “on a wreath a mount *vert*, thereon a beacon *or*, inflamed on the top proper; about the same a scroll inscribed “Nisi Dominus”. Why and when the crest granted by Henry VIII was disused, and when the crest of the beacon was first assumed, are questions, an answer to which may be useful and interesting. The following is the pedigree :



¹ Vol. *Sussex*, p. 364, ed. 1830.

² According to Collins.

A glance at this pedigree will show how unreliable is the statement from Collins above referred to, for not only was there a family by two wives, but there are many more issue than he gives; and his statement that this branch of the family is extinct cannot be assumed, although there is no published trace of the descendants. It will be seen that one of the sons of Sir Henry Compton by his second wife, Mary, was John, and this agrees with the hero of Horace Smith's novel, who is Sir John Compton, though there is no trace in the pedigree of Jocelyn Compton, the son of Sir John, according to the novel.

The ruins of the old mansion, which remain to the present day, afford a confirmation of the pedigree. I have not visited the spot; but from a note taken by a relative who was recently visiting in the neighbourhood, I find that there are still three ivy-mantled towers standing. Over the entrance there is now, though somewhat mutilated, the coat of arms of Compton impaling those of Spencer, carved in stone, with two supporters concealed in ivy. These are the arms of the first Lord Compton, the father of Sir Henry, impaling Sir Henry's mother's arms. In a little chamber of the central tower the doorposts have acorns and oak-leaves carved on them. In the four corners of the niches of this chamber are four scallop-shells, and higher up are four dragons' heads, the dragon's head being the crest of the Comptons. All these carvings are in good preservation. There is also the loose iron back of a fire-grate with the initials H^CM on it. Horsfield, in his *History of Sussex*, mentions that on the upper storey is carved, in stone, H^CM₁₆₃₁, which he considers fixes the period when the house was built, and Sir Henry Compton removed from the old moated mansion to this once large and strong baronial mansion. The initials H^CM, repeated both in stone and on the iron back of the grate, confirm the pedigree as given in Berry's *County Genealogies*, and show that the house was built during the second marriage of Sir Henry Compton to Mary, daughter of Sir George Browne.

The exact cause of the premature decay of this fine old mansion is not distinctly known, though it is generally believed that it suffered severely during the Common-

wealth. Horace Smith in his novel attributes its destruction to an attack by some of Cromwell's troops during the absence of Sir John Compton while hunting in the neighbouring forest of Ashdown. This Sir John must have been John, the son of Sir Henry, and not his grandson, Sir John Compton (*vide* pedigree). This John Compton died at Brambletye, 28 July 1659, two months after the resignation by Richard Cromwell of the Protectorate. If, therefore, the house suffered from the violence of Cromwell's troops, it does not appear to have been uninhabitable until after the Protectorate. From the known loyalty of the Comptons, and the active part they took in the King's behalf in the civil war, it is most probable that Sir Henry's descendants were so impoverished by the sacrifices they made in the King's cause that they abandoned the old house, being unable to restore it to its original strength and grandeur. Horsfield, in his *History of Sussex*, says the Comptons were seized of the lordship in 1660. That they soon after parted with it is consistent with the circumstance that in Berry's genealogy Sir John Compton, the grandson of Sir Henry, is described as of Prior's Deane, co. Southampton.

The following extract from Shoberl's *Sussex*, quoted by Horsfield, shows the subsequent ownership of the manor carried down to modern times: "From the court-rolls of the manor it does not appear who succeeded the Comptons in the possession of the mansion; but so much is certain, that Sir James Richards, in his patent of baronetcy, dated 26 February 1683-4, is described as of Brambletye House. To this gentleman the tradition which accounts for its premature decay is supposed to apply. It is related that on a suspicion of treasonable practices against a proprietor of this house, officers of justice were despatched to search the premises, when a considerable quantity of arms and military stores were discovered. The owner, who was just then engaged in the diversions of the chase, receiving intimation of the circumstance, deemed it most prudent to abscond, and the mansion being thus deserted was suffered to go to decay. The well known loyalty of the Comptons has led to the surmise that this occurrence took place during their tenure under the Commonwealth, in behalf of their

lawful sovereign ; but that can scarcely have been the case, as John, the son of Sir Henry, is recorded to have died at Brambletye, July 28, 1659. On the other hand, it is certain that it was occupied during the reign of Charles II by Sir James Richards, who was of French extraction, his father having come into this country with Queen Henrietta Maria. Being first knighted for an act of bravery in the sea-service, he was afterwards advanced to the dignity of a baronet ; and married, for his second wife, Beatrice Herrera, apparently a Spaniard. It is recorded of him that he quitted this country and settled in Spain, where some of his descendants have occupied high stations in the Spanish army. These circumstances, coupled with that of his being the last known resident at Brambletye, render it more than probable that this destruction of the house, attributed by the report to the rebellious propensities of its owner, ought to be dated from his occupation. The manor has been for about a century in the possession of the Biddulphs, a Roman Catholic family, of which John Biddulph, Esq., of Burton Park, is the present representative."

The Biddulphs are the same family as that to which Mary, the wife of George Compton, the second son of Sir Henry Compton by his second wife, Mary, belonged.

I have now exhausted all the information of interest connected with this old mansion which I can collect, though I have not exhausted all its family history, for the pedigree shows four male branches at least whose descendants are not accounted for. I have also shown how the old building itself may assist in the investigations of genealogical research and family history ; and how important it is, therefore, that this and such like memorials of the past should be preserved from decay and the still more ruinous effects of thoughtless spoliation. To your sympathies and to those of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments I commend the subject of these remarks.

ON THE
BATHS OF AQUÆ SOLIS, RESTORATIONS
AND INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read 18 Feb. 1885.*)

THE recent discovery of a further portion of the old Roman baths at Bath has been made sufficiently public by the address given on 25 July 1884 to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society by Mr. Charles E. Davis, F.S.A., architect to the Mayor and Corporation of Bath; and both he and they deserve all praise for excavating and preserving one of the most interesting works of the Romans in Britain. This address has formed the substance of a *Guide* to the ruins, with a plan of the present and former discoveries, by the same author, of which I will freely avail myself in this epitome.¹ There have been since exhibited, at the Health Exhibition at South Kensington last year, most interesting models of these Roman baths and their modern surroundings, as well as photographic views of the buildings.

My reason for bringing the subject before you on the present occasion is, that a first notice was sent to the British Archæological Association by Mr. Richard Mann, contractor for the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, together with two photographs, as long ago as the 2nd of December 1879; and on the 7th of January 1880 a letter was read from the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, F.S.A., concerning what had then been discovered. On March 3rd of the same year Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., read to our Society some further notes on the discovery of Roman masonry and sculpture, and Mr. Mann made plans and measurements of the then known remains to scale.

¹ *Guide to the Roman Baths of Bath*, eighth edition, by Charles E. Davis, F.S.A., architect, etc., Hon. Sec. Soc. Antiq. London, author of *Mineral Baths of Bath*, etc. See also an account of the excavations by the same author in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, vol. viii, Part I, p. 89.

Since that time Mr. Davis has opened up the great bath, and what is quite as interesting, the well from which it was supplied with mineral water; and it is right that an epitome should be made of what has been done to complete the record in the transactions of this Society. I will also, with your permission, put forward some opinions, or call them theories, of my own, suggested by an inspection of the remains, as to the probable date of the temple and frontage of the baths as restored on paper by Mr. James T. Irvine in vol. xxix of our *Journal*; and I will venture upon a new interpretation of my own of an inscription on a leaden tablet found among the ruins.

The coins of Geta, younger son of Septimius Severus, and his wife, Julia Pia, have a double interest in this matter, both as presenting the portrait of a young man murdered in the prime of life by his elder brother, and as exhibiting a prince connected in an especial manner with the western district of Britain, of which Bath, or *Aquæ Solis*,¹ might be considered the social capital, and over which Geta presided whilst his father and elder brother were engaged in military affairs in the north of the island. This has been shown in an interesting dissertation by William Musgrave, F.S.A., published at Exeter in 1714, in which his text is founded upon an equestrian statue, then lately dug up at Bath, of a young man armed with *clipeus* in left hand, and the *hasta pura* in right; that is, the pointless lance presented to young princes as an honourable distinction when arriving at years qualifying for the office of Cæsar. This statue and portrait he endeavours to show, by numerous arguments² and compa-

¹ Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., reminds me to advert to a popular error as to the derivation of the British name for Bath. He says: "The British name of the city of Bath is Acuman-cestor or Aceman-cestor; the *ace* or *acu* explained by Benson in his edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (list of towns at the end of the book) as the *ache* or *pain* cured at the Bath. Thus he translated the whole word as *ægrotorum hominum civitas*. But there can be little doubt that the first part of the word is equivalent to *aquæ*. But whether the Latin name gave origin to the British, or is an attempt to Latinise a British word found by the Romans when they came to England, I cannot say." It may be remarked that by a similar change, *Aquæ Sextiæ*, in Provence, has become Aix.

² E. Hübner, *Corp. Inscript. Lat.*, vol. vii, No. 52, says of this conjecture of Musgrave, "Anaglyphum illud, Getæ imaginem esse studet probare; frustra."

risons with coins, to be that of Antoninus Geta. His identification of the statue is certainly incomplete. More to the point, because more undoubted, is his selection of ten coins on which the young Cæsar is shown, and out of which I will refer to the following, viz., one on which he is represented as *Princeps Juventutis*; and on the reverse is an equestrian figure of himself, who with two others, also on horseback, are taking part in the "Game of Troy". On another he personates Castor, and stands by his horse. On a third he is honoured as *Pontifex* and Tribune for the second time, and Consul also for the second time, which would correspond in date with A.D. 205. His happy return to Italy is hoped for on another coin, where *Fortuna Redux*, a female seated, holds in her right hand a rudder, and in her left a cornucopia, while upon her chair is carved a wheel, emblematic of land-travel.

The death of his father, Septimius, at York, sealed the doom of Geta. His brother, Bassianus (Caracalla), divided the supreme command with their mother, Julia Pia; but he was jealous of a young Prince in equal command with himself, who was in every way his superior, and a favourite of the people. "Let him reign a god in heaven", said Bassianus, "as long as he does not reign here"; and Geta was murdered at Rome two years after the father's death.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth, one of our Vice-Presidents, in his well known history of Roman Bath, describes it as a walled town of pentagonal shape, washed on the eastern and southern sides by the river Avon. Four roads branched from its four gates: the northern to Cirencester, the eastern to Silchester and London, the southern to Ilchester, and the western to Bristol. In the centre of the town, where the four roads met, was the Forum, extending over the area where the Abbey Church now stands; and it is probable that the whole southern face was occupied by the baths, which have proved by the recent excavations to be much larger than was formerly supposed; but Mr. Mann cautiously reminds us that we do not know where the eastern side of the Forum is; and if the western side of the Baths was extended as far as Major Davis suggests, then the whole building would occupy, not three-fourths, or the whole, but double the length of the Forum.

Let us compare them with those at Rome. Dean Merivale, in speaking of baths in general, says,¹ "There can be little doubt that the Baths of Nero were far exceeded in size, in convenience, and in decoration by those of Titus, which were again surpassed by those of Caracalla, Diocletian, and Constantine. The erection of these palaces of the people indicates the necessity which the government began to feel of strengthening its intrinsic weakness by pampering an indolent but restless multitude. The monuments of the Flavian and Antonine age show how much the emperors now leant upon their favour with the mass of the citizens, and how great were the sacrifices they made to content and amuse them. The *thermæ* of Titus comprised every convenience and every luxury for the residence by day of the great potentate, the mob of Rome. The provision of hot and cold water, of tanks and fountains, for washing, for bathing, and for steaming, was a part only of the luxurious appliances with which they were furnished. Partly under cover, and partly open to the air, they offered chambers or terraces for every enjoyment and every recreation; presented to the populace without charge, for even the payment of the smallest copper coin, which had been required under the republic, was remitted under the empire. No tax whatever was put on the full enjoyment of their attractions. The private lodging of Caius or Titius might be a single, gloomy chamber propped against a temple, or a noble mansion in which he slept in contented celibacy; but while the sun was in the heavens he lounged in the halls of his Castle of Indolence, or if he wandered from them to the circus, the theatre, or the *campus*, he returned again from every place of occasional entertainment to take his ease in the Baths." Dean Merivale adds in a note that the "eighty-sixth epistle of Seneca may be referred to, in which the philosopher contrasts their splendour and luxury even in his day with the squalor of those of the age of Scipio. But the author's style is too declamatory to command our unreserved reliance, and it is not easy to see where the rhetorician is describing the public baths, and where the private dissipation of voluptuous nobles and freedmen."

¹ *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 35.

“The length of the *thermæ* of Caracalla, in Rome, was 1,840 ft.; the breadth of the buildings, 1,476 ft. At each end were two temples, one to Apollo, and another to Æsculapius, as the *genii tutelares* of a place sacred to the improvement of the mind and to the care of the body. The two other temples were dedicated to the two protecting divinities of the Antonine family, Hercules and Bacchus.

“In the principal building were, in the first place, a grand circular vestibule with four halls on each side for cold, tepid, hot, and steam baths. In the centre was an immense square, for exercise when the weather was unfavourable to it in the open air; beyond it a great hall, where sixteen hundred marble seats were placed for the convenience of the bathers. At each end of this hall were libraries. This building terminated on both sides in a court surrounded with porticoes, with an *odeum* for music, and in the middle a capacious basin for swimming. Around this edifice were walks shaded by rows of trees, particularly the plane; and in its front extended a *gymnasium*, for running and wrestling in fine weather. The whole was bounded by a vast portico opening into *exhedræ*, or spacious halls, where poets declaimed, and philosophers gave lectures.”¹

These *thermæ* at Bath, under the rule of Geta, may have been extended in imitation of the magnificent works of his brother at Rome, or of those from which he took his models; though even if covering a space of double the length of the remains hitherto uncovered, they would hardly exceed one-fifth of the dimensions of the Baths of Caracalla. They have been ascribed to an earlier period, that is, to as far back as the first century of our era, which would have been a hundred years before Geta's time. Be this as it may, we may safely conclude that at the later period they were in full and daily use and occupation.

I have already said that Mr. James T. Irvine, in 1873, composed out of the sculptured remains previously found the elevations of two separate and distinct buildings,—the one a temple, and the other the structural frontage

¹ *Classical Tour through Italy in 1802*, by the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, vol. i, pp. 385-6.

of the entrance to the Baths. The remains found in Bath up to December 1857 had been described by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, F.S.A., in volume xiii of this *Journal*; and out of these remains various restorations have been conjectured, sometimes by creating a portico to the Baths, and at others mixing up the whole ruins together to form one building. I shall avail myself of the valuable information which has been afforded by the many minds directed to this investigation, and will give some evidences of my own in support of Mr. Irvine's design of a temple, and then as to his elevation of the Baths' frontage.

An altar was found in Stall Street in 1753, having on it the following inscription :

LOCVM RELIGIOSVM
PER INSOLENTIAM
ERVIVM
VIRTUTE ET NVMINI
AVGVSTI REPVRGATVM
REDDIDIT . C . SEVERIVS
EMERITVS C.

Which I should translate as follows,—C. Severius, a veteran centurion, rededicated to the valour and the deity of the Emperor a religious site (or *τεμενος*) repurged, which had fallen to decay through disuse (or neglect). The primary and usual meaning of *insolentia* was certainly disuse. It came afterwards to be applied to the arrogance of men placed in a position to which they were unaccustomed.

As to the dedication, the centurion, from his name, was probably a *libertinus* of the imperial family, and perhaps an *augustalis*, if not a *magister augustorum augustalis*, the highest of the six called *seviri*, who in the provinces were intermediate in rank between the Senate and the ordinary citizens; attending upon the services of the imperial temple, but without being necessarily of the order of priests.

A votive stone altar discovered in the cistern of the Cross Bath at Bath was dedicated by C. Curiatius Saturninus, a centurion of the second legion, to the goddess Sul-Minerva and the divinities of the Augusti or emperors.¹

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, 1827, Part I, p. 392; E. Hübner, *Corpus Insc. Lat.*, vol. vii, No. 42.

A temple, as restored by Mr. Irvine, fulfils the conditions of one dedicated to the divinities of the Emperor and Empress, in accordance with the then custom of honouring those high personages. It has generally been called a temple to Sul-Minerva, the genius of the place, and the divinities of the emperors, according to the many similar forms extant. The architecture has all the characteristics of the Antonine period, and particularly of the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, with the sculptured dies of the pedestals in each. On the tympanum of the pediment of our temple are two winged Victories, each upon a globe, pointing to a *clipeus*, or shield, in acknowledgment of the Emperor's victories. These winged figures, pointing to a shield, are seen on the coins of the Emperor Severus as well as on those of Geta, and over the arch before referred to. The device upon the shield in this case seems to be that of the Genius¹ of the springs, the snakes issuing from the hair and beard personating the medicinal fountain-heads. On the dexter side of the tympanum is a helmet, emblematic of Mars and the warlike achievements of the Emperor; while on the sinister is the figure of an owl, the bird of Minerva, which seems to have reference to the Empress Julia Pia, represented by another piece of sculpture now in the Bath Museum; a female figure with the crescent moon filling the background. This may probably, though smaller, have adorned some other part of this temple. The Empress Julia Pia, a native of Syria, would be designed as Astarte, the Syrian Diana, or the Moon; and probably the Roman Minerva Medica would be the nearest appropriation of their own goddess either to Astarte or to Sul-Minerva, the British divinity of the springs, who seems to have left her name in Salisbury, a neighbouring hill. The sturdy and superstitious African, Septimius Severus, would have called her Isis, the corresponding

¹ Prudentius criticises the multiplication of these Genii in his lines, *Contra Symmachum*, ii, v. 444 *et seqq.* :—

“Cur Genium Romæ mihi fingitis unum?
Cum portis, domibus, thermis, stabulis soleatis
Adsignare suos genios, perque omnia membra
Urbis perque locos geniorum millia multa
Fingere ne propria vacet angulus unus ab umbra.”

divinity in Africa, whose worship was being introduced into Britain, and the Emperor would not disclaim to be honoured as Osiris.¹

Solinus being the earliest author whose words are supposed to have reference to these Baths and to our English coal, though so well known, and so often quoted, shall be here inserted: "Fontes calidos opiparo excultos apparatu, ad usus mortalium quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cujus æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit vertit in globos saxeos."²

If more precedents are required for the dedication of such a temple, the following is one from Claudiopolis in Transylvania :

NVMINI . AVG
M . VLP . CÆCIL
BASSIANVS
M . AGG
AVGVSTALIS
COL NEP
D D³

This dedication is by a *magister augustorum augustalis* or head of the *Seviri* of the Imperial Temple.

Here is another from Rome :

PRO SALVTE DOMVS AVGVSTÆ
CORPORA PAVSARIORVM ET
ARGENTARIORVM ISIDI ET
OSIRI MANSIONEM
ÆDIFICAVIMVS⁴

In this case the dedication is by the corporations of the gold and silver workers, if we adopt the amended reading of AVRARIORVM in the second line instead of PAVSARIORVM, according to the suggestion of Reinesius.

An inscription found at York, and exhibited at the Gloucester Meeting of the British Archæological Association in 1846, records the dedication of a temple to the deities of the Augusti and to Juno. The name of the donor or dedicator is lost, the four last letters only remaining. It is very probable that this dedication may

¹ Compare the descriptions in the work of Lysons, and the restorations by Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart., in *Archæologia*, vol. x ; and Mr. G. Scharf, F.S.A., *Ibid.*, vol. xxxv.

² C. 21.

³ Reinesius, Cl. I, 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 139.

be of the time of Severus and Julia, though there is no actual evidence of this.¹

The inscription found in 1795, in Sydney Gardens, Bath, to the memory of Caius Calpurnius, a priest of the goddess Sul, may be here referred to; but the many inscriptions and sculptures, of which a full account is given by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, can be only mentioned here so far as they refer to the Temple and Baths.² Of the latter I will name the fragments of an inscription which Mr. Irvine has appropriated to the frieze of his Baths' entrance. All that remains has the following letters:—

...LAVDIVS . LIGVR.... OLEGIO . LONGA . SERIA
...E . NIMIA . VETVSTVNIA . REFICI . ET
REPINGI CVR....

The blanks have been ingeniously filled up as follows :³

Aulus CLAVDIVS . LIGVRIUS sodalis ascitus
Fabrorum COLEGIO LONGA SERIA defossa
Hanc ædem E . NIMIA . VETVSTATE labentem
De inventa illic PECVNIA . REFICI . ET REPINGI CVRAVIT

There must, however, be some uncertainty in bridging over so wide a hiatus. For instance, Claudius Ligurius might be EX AVGVSTALI COLEGIO; and the *longa seria*, if the last letter were not very clear, might be *longa serie* (*annorum*) *e nimia vetustate*, etc.; and the long blank before *pecunia* might relate that it was the money of Claudius Ligurius, or that of the Augustal College, or the money of any one else. Let me not, however, throw doubts on the far more interesting conjectural reading of *longa seria*, as an earthen vessel dug up full of money, which was applied to the reparation and painting of the Baths; for it is quite possible that further fragments may yet be found to confirm or amend it. But I commend the final A or E to the attention of local antiquaries.

Near the sculpture of the moon-goddess was found a portion of an inscription restored thus, "C. Protacius to the goddess Sul-Minerva", placed in the wall of the entrance, under the architrave, in Mr. Irvine's drawing.⁴

¹ See description by C. Roach Smith in Gloucester Volume of the British Archæological Association, p. 150.

² See *Aquæ Solis*, by the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth, F.S.A. London and Bath. 1864. 4to.

³ By Governor Pownall in his *Bath Antiquities*. 1795.

⁴ *Brit. Arch. Journ.*, xiii, p. 270.

Leaving now fragments and conjectural restorations, let us return to the Bath itself as it at present stands to view, and from Mr. C. E. Davis's account of the great bath I will extract some interesting particulars. To the eastward of this a smaller bath was uncovered in 1755, and was described at that time by Dr. Lucas; and afterwards, with a plan, by Dr. Sutherland in 1763.¹ This extended lengthwise from north to south, and was 34 ft. long by 15 ft. wide, contained in a hall 43 ft. by 34 ft., originally arched and decorated by pilasters similar to those now discovered. The said bath was covered over or destroyed; but the plans then made showed that quite the eastern end of the large bath (that is, the steps into it) was also discovered at the same time. At the north and south ends of the smaller bath were semicircular recesses, pilastered and arcaded, which are supposed by Mr. Davis to have been cold water baths, or "so constructed that artificially heated or cold water might be turned on at will, to give the bather an opportunity of a change of temperature should he desire it." The Kingstons buildings and Baths were erected on the site.

The next important discovery was made upon the erection of the Pump Room in the last ten years of the last century. Various portions of worked stones were then discovered, being parts of a temple, and a piece of sculpture of the tympanum of a pediment, the subject being a "large *clipeus*, or shield, supported by two flying figures of Victory. In the centre is a mask with moustache and flowing locks developing into snakes, with wings springing from behind the ears; the head, the personification of the celebrated hot spring itself; the abundant curls pertain to the flowing streams; the wings relate to the fleeting nature of the Bath waters." This was the interpretation of Mr. G. Scharf in his paper upon it, read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1855.

Mr. Davis, from the estimated width of the pediment, considered the portico would be hexastyle, or of six columns; but that from the low relief of the sculpture, compared with the fragments found of the portico, it was not the

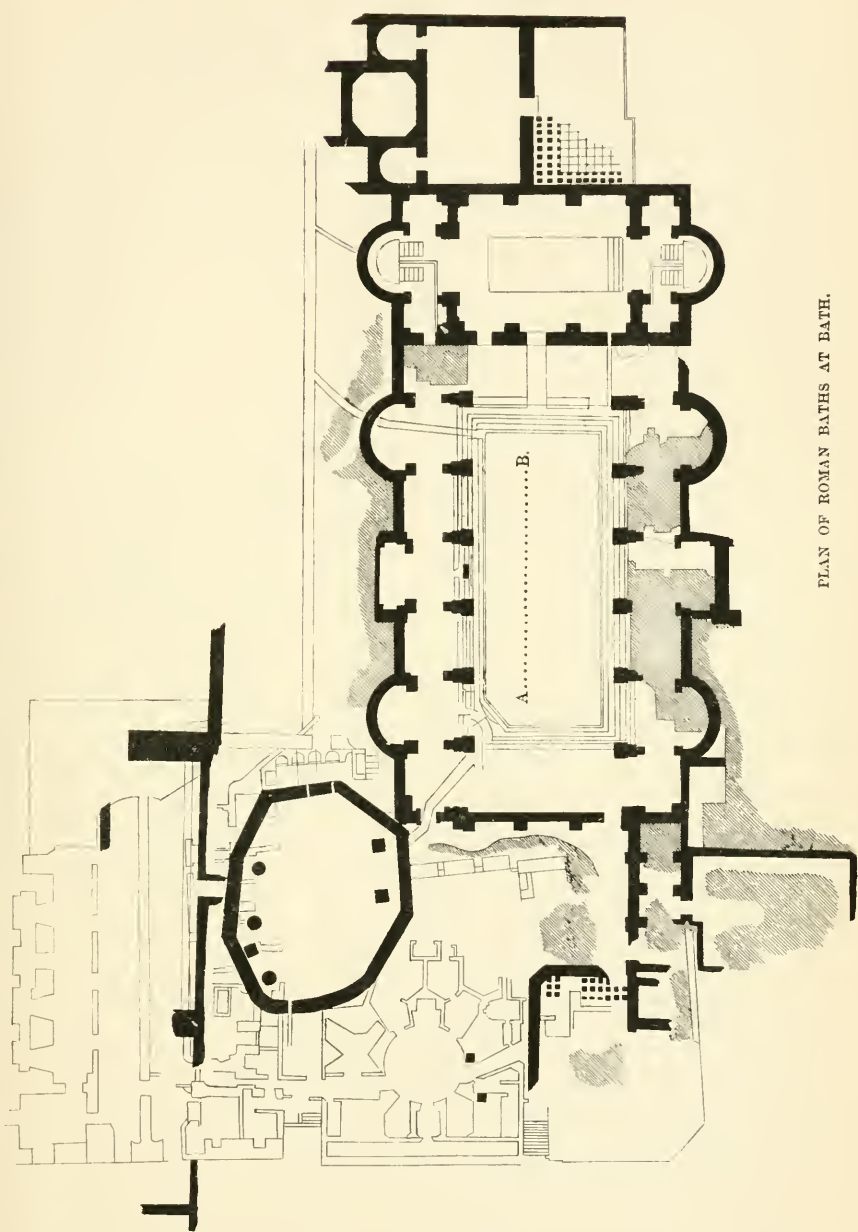
¹ *Attempt to Revive Ancient Medical Doctrines.* By Dr. Sutherland. 1763. See also *Gent. Mag.*, August 18, 1755; and Dr. Guidott's *Discourse of Bath* in 1676; and Leland's *Itin.* (Hearne), vol. ii, p. 38.

external tympanum of the portico, but rather that of the *pronaos*. If this be so, he thought the portico may have been octostyle, with a width of 47 ft., instead of a hexastyle of 35 ft. This is greatly objected to by Mr. Richard Mann, who gives evidence to show that the portico of the Temple was *tetrastyle*, or of four columns only ; though if it resembled the Maison Carrée of Nîmes, as Mr. Davis said it did, it should be hexastyle, as was also, I believe, the Temple of Augustus and Julia (so called) at Vienne.

Mr. Davis "sank a shaft in 1871, in Abbey Passage, and came down upon the north-west corner of what is now called the Great Roman Bath at a depth of 20 ft. from the surface, unearthing four tiers of what afterwards proved to be the steps of the northern *schola*. In 1878 he opened and restored the Roman culvert, and so drained the space occupied by the remains of the ancient Baths. In reconstructing this culvert, through a length exceeding 120 ft., commencing from the east, the excavators came upon a very fine Roman arch formed with stone and a few tiles.

In continuing these excavations they came upon a work of surprising grandeur, the Roman enclosure of the hot springs, built to suit the various sources of the springs, in an irregular octagon, about 50 ft. in length from east to west, and 40 ft. wide. This octagon is beneath the King's Bath, and forms now, as formerly, the great well of the springs. This octagon is built of large masonry, 3 ft. thick, and 6 ft. 6 ins. to 7 ft. high, exclusive of foundations, and was found cased on the inside, in great part, with lead (thirty pounds to the square foot), which was also folded beneath a border of tiles and concrete that went round the well.

The great bath then laid open was contained in a hall 111 ft. 4 ins. long by 68 ft. 6 ins. wide. It runs from east to west, being 83 ft. 8 ins. long by 40 ft. 2 ins. wide ; and in the north and south sides are three recesses, or *exedrae*, the central one being rectangular, and the others circular. In these recesses were seats ; in the circular ones were stone seats called *stibadia* ; but in the rectangular recess that is laid bare, the seats appear to have been of wood ; and the clothing of the bathers appears to have been hung up there, as in one of the pilasters is a



PLAN OF ROMAN BATHS AT BATH.

mortice-hole of the rail, and in another the slob to admit the other end. The platform that surrounded the bath in the centre is 14 ft. wide, within a few inches more or less, measuring in the top step as if the *schola* were perfect; and six steps formed of very massive masonry led down to the bath, the bottom being coated with lead in sheets of about 10 ft. by 5 ft. square, laid on a layer of brick concrete placed on solid masonry 1 ft. in thickness. The lead probably covered the steps also. On the length of this bath, six piers on either side formed clustered pilasters. The hall consisted of three aisles; the centre one (being the width of the bath) was roofed in by a quadrangular dome springing from a cornice, a portion of the frieze of which had been found, rising 48 ft. 2 ins. from the floor of the bath, exceeding by 14 ft. the height of the Pump Room. The side-aisles were arched also, but of lesser height, to permit of light in the clerestory.¹ The arches of the centre and sides, except when the abutment was sufficient (where they were of stones or flat tiles), were formed of brick boxes open at two sides, and wedge-shaped, 1 ft. long, $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick, and $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins. at the wider end, set in usual Roman mortar, a mixture of broken brick and lime; roofed, as in the case of the larger one, on the upper side with the roll and flat tile known to this day as the Italian tile, and over the smaller arches with hexagonal stone tiles.

The bath was filled at its north-west angle with hot water by a rectangular lead pipe 1 ft. 9 ins. wide by 7 ins. deep, sunk in the lower floor of the *scholæ*, direct from the great octagon well, which was distant 38 ft.; 25 ft. of this pipe have been removed. The water was thrown into the bath from under the capping of the angular pedestal, in the form of a fan-like spray, probably with the view of reducing the temperature. The deposit from the mineral water is incrustated over the orifice of the pipe and stone several inches in thickness, until the petrefaction had completely blocked up the opening, and the water had then flowed over the stone through which it was intended to pass, until that again became obstructed.²

¹ Mr. Mann considers that no part of the arching of the roof was of stone or flat tiles, excepting at the springing and the ridge or key.

² Mr. Mann objects to this statement, saying that the water had its eject at the bottom of the bath, and that there was no obstruction of

In the centre of the northern *scholæ* was a pedestal of stone and some sculpture, and beneath this are indentations in the steps, and a plinth, on which formerly stood a large bronze or stone sarcophagus which received the water as it flowed from an aperture in the sculpture from which the pipe had been removed, but a considerable length of which (25 ft.) still remains some few feet distant. This pipe did not convey mineral water, as he had at first thought (as there is but little deposit from it), but cold water, and doubtless came from Winifred's Well, which afterwards supplied the mediæval town in conduits at the north gate and near the Guildhall. The pipe was carried on further along the platform on the north, branching off on the west and south to supply the semi-circular baths already described as having been discovered in 1755.

The platform or *scholæ* was formed by a layer of large freestone, 9 to 10 inches thick, laid on the level of the top step but one, on a bed of concrete. Very little of this paving remains, and even where it does it is very much worn and fractured.

The approach to the Great Bath was by two large doorways in the west, and there were probably three entrances at the other end, from the eastern wing, discovered in 1755.

A portico in the centre would be slightly to the north of the present Pump Room. The western wing would reach half way down Bath Street, or even further, flanking the great southern road leading to the bridge: this street forming the western limits to the precincts of the Baths, including the plantations and gardens. The fragments found lead to the belief that the buildings were of the purest Roman taste with considerable Greek feeling, and decorated with sculpture."

In December 1883 Mr. Davis laid bare a hypocaust in tolerable preservation, with the door and steps leading into it. He had also opened out the south wall of a hall, with a bath between the hypocaust and the south-western entrance to the Great Bath. These discoveries were in York Street, a street running parallel to the Bath, on the south of it.

the duct by petrefaction, but the aperture mentioned was really a defect through the sinking away of the top edge of lead from the stone.

The portion of the bathing establishment which thus far has been opened, presents us with the several varieties of baths used by the Romans ; that is, the Great Bath with the boiling water coming up from the ground at the temperature of 116 degrees Fahrenheit ; then the same water conveyed to the eastern bath, opened in 1755, which would thus be of a cooler temperature ; and the cold baths in the same hall, in the apses at the extremities of it, as suggested by Mr. Davis ; then sweating-baths, to judge by the hypocausts for warming them ; and doubtless each had a *laconicum*, or apsidal termination, for the regulation of the temperature. Yet though this portion discovered is to a certain extent complete in itself, from what Mr. Davis has said it may be inferred that a portion only, and perhaps not more than half of the whole block of buildings has yet been uncovered ; and beyond all this there would be gardens, palaestra, and peristyles ; so that the establishment might have been, perhaps, no unworthy prototype of the vast Baths of Caracalla in Rome, though very much smaller.

Mr. Richard Mann has the following observations as to the probable date of the building, and some strictures upon Mr. Davis's remarks as to the portico : "Collateral evidence of the early period at which the Baths were built is afforded by the entire absence of any tessellated floors, except a small one of very primitive arrangement found in 1756. This is further strengthened when we take into consideration the fact that the first or original floor had sustained a very considerable amount of wear ; so much so, that we find a second flooring of pennant laid upon it ; and yet at the end of the long period which must have elapsed between the erection of the building and the laying of the second flooring, it would seem to have been anterior to the tessellated-floor period ; but in the buildings around, in Abbey Gate Street, the sites of both Hospitals, and the Blue Coat School, we meet with tessellated floors of somewhat ornate character, thus giving us a guide to the sequence of the erection of the respective buildings.¹

¹ I may remark that the stern Doric pilasters, and bases, and style of the Bath frontage bespeak an earlier date than the Temple, though it was repaired and decorated, as says the inscription, which may have

"Then as to the bases and columns which Mr. Davis has assigned to a portico which he states was attached to the vestibule of the Baths. Respecting this I would, in the first place, say that on the exterior of the enclosure or building he terms a vestibule, were pillasters with pure Attic bases; next, there are numerous points that lead me to question the possibility of this enclosure serving the purpose of a vestibule; and further, I would say that careful observation during the excavations tends to negative the idea of the existence of a portico as an adjunct to this so-called vestibule. And even if such a portico existed, it would not be, as Mr. Davis states, 'on a site northward of the Pump Room', but underneath it."¹

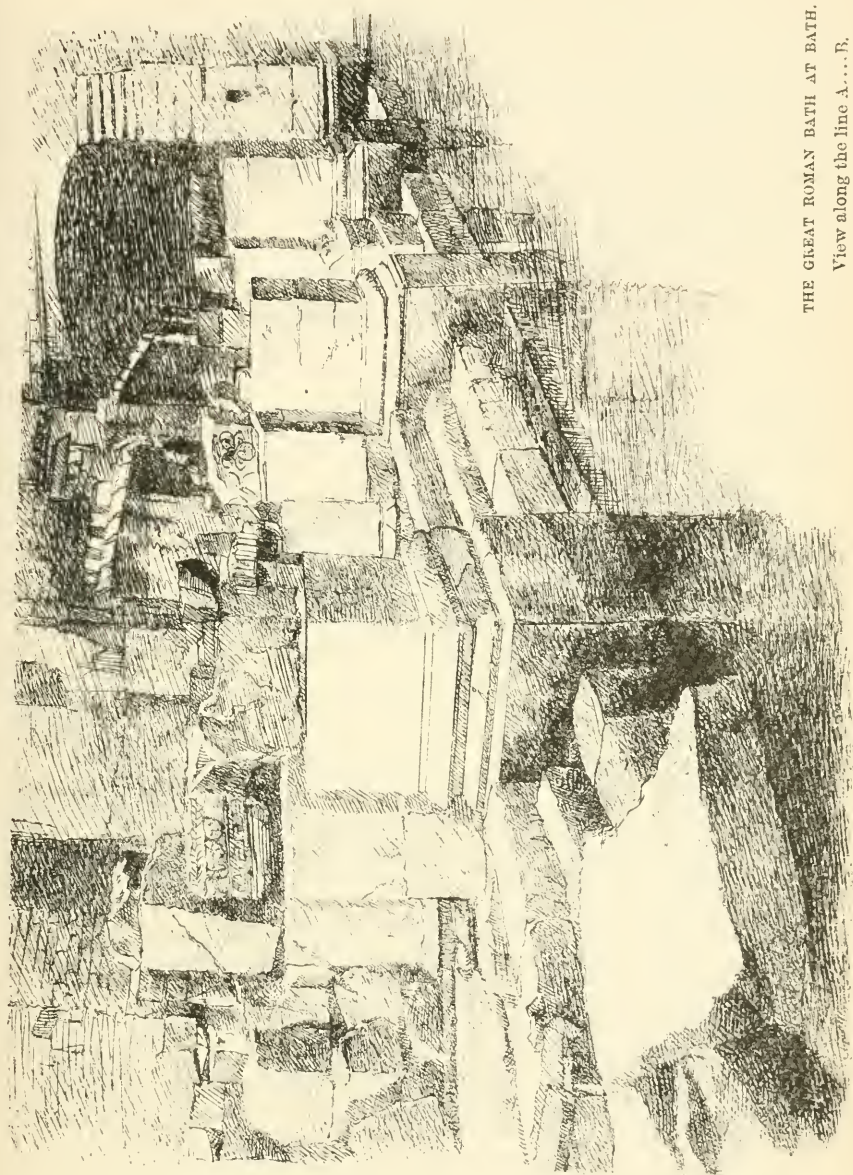
A metal mask, some Samian ware, and a few other objects, together with some coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, and other emperors, were found near the well, together with three leaden tablets, of which only one has been described in print, in Mr. Davis's *Guide*. The tablet is described as one-twentieth of an inch thick, two inches and eleven-sixteenths square, with a notch on the left side one inch and five-eighths long from the bottom, and three-eighths of an inch deep. Not having seen the original, I will take the lettering from Major Davis, which he says is not difficult to make out, though he mistrusts the interpretations which have been given. In this I must say I perfectly concur with him; and with due deference to the opinions of others, I will venture upon an interpretation of my own. Mr. Davis gives the letters as follows, transposed from the tablet, on which they were read from right to left. He has made out the letters as follows, with the assistance of Professor Sayce, whose reputation in such matters is universal:

Text of Mr. Charles E. Davis, F.S.A., and Professor Sayce, as read from Right to Left.

COLAVITVILBIAM MIHIQ
AQVACOMCLIQVTSEC (OR R) IV
AVITEAMLV TAEI

been as late as under Severus and his sons, at the time when the Temple was erected.

¹ From a letter of Mr. Richard Mann to *The Bath Chronicle*, 27th of November 1884.



THE GREAT ROMAN BATH AT BATH.
View along the line A....B.

EXPERIVSVELVINNAIIV
 GVERINVSÆRIANXSEX
 ITIANVSAVGVSTALIS SE
 CATVSMINIANVSCOM-
 IOVINA GERMANILL

I would read the inscription, filling up the blanks, as follows :—

COLAVIT . VILBIA¹. M[iniana] MIHI Q[ue]
 AQVA . COM . CLI[ens] QV[in]T[u]s . F[ili] c[ommentariensis]
 vel R[atiocinator] IV
 AVITE . AMVL[ius] [e]T . AEL[ius] [vel] AEL[ianus]
 EXPERIVS VELVINNAI[tem] L[avit] V
 GVERINVS . AERIANVS . EX
 ITIANVS . AGVSTALIS . S[evir]
 CATVS MINIANVS . COM
 IOVINA . GERMANILL[a]

Translated thus :—Villbia Miniana, in company (with Jovina, the little sister), bathed in the water four times ; and when Quintus, my client, ancestrally named Amulius and Ælius, or Ælianus, acted as secretary or accountant. Experius Velvinna also bathed five times ; Guerinus Ærianus Exitianus, member of the Augustal College ; as also Catus Minianus, with Jovina, the little sister.

The only conjectural emendation I have made in the lettering is the setting out Amulius in full in the third line, and the substitution of v for x, the fourth letter from the end in the fifth line. This, if the sequence of the letters is correctly read, seems to be an interesting testimonial of a family party who went to take the baths, consisting of Catus Minianus, the pater-familias, with his wife or daughter, Villbia, and a little sister, Jovina ; Experius Velvinna, and Guerinus Ærianus Exitianus, a *sever* of the Augustal College. Quintus, client of the patron, acted as secretary or accountant, to keep the accounts and register the baths ; of which the ladies, it would appear, took four, and the gentlemen five ; and we may infer from this that four or five times constituted a course of these mineral hot springs, and it is probable that an interval of days elapsed between each bath taken for medicinal purposes.

¹ A similar name to Villbia is found on a monument in Horsley, and is given in E. Hübner's *Insc. Brit. Latine*, No. 59 :—

VIBIA IVCVNDA
 II . S . E.

It is likely that the Augustal may also have been a *libertinus* or freed man, for the office was frequently filled by men of this class, it being one of the few public positions which the *libertini* were permitted to occupy; and they were often very rich, but were bound as clients to perform certain duties towards their *patroni*, who had been masters to them when slaves, before they were manumitted. His name of Ælianus (corrupted or misspelt Ærianus) would thus be derived from the noble family of that name. Slaves took the names of their masters; thus our Quintus, ancestrally, was Amulius and Ælius, or Ælianus, all names of good families whom his father, or those before him, had served. The names in the fourth and fifth lines are somewhat unusual; but where the letters are clear, the names must be accepted.

The words on the tablet are easily read because the position of the letters only is reversed, and not the letters themselves, which are written the right way; therefore it can hardly be a tablet for printing or stamping, as has been supposed, and it is apparently so written to make the inscription emphatic and noticeable; suggested, perhaps, by the Eastern predilections of the Empress Julia Domna, who may have set the fashion. Professor Emil Hübner says, "it seems to me undoubted that the tablet, as the great mass of the English inscriptions generally, belongs to the second century or the first half of the third century."

Mr. Davis has collected in a pamphlet¹ the principal solutions, by learned professors, of the inscription. The sense of it has been so smothered in verbal criticisms, and entangled in a mass of learning and quotations, many of them irrelevant to the sense, that the poor tablet comes out very much like the "*mons parturiens*", the mountain in labour. What can be more improbable than that one out of eight guests at a dinner-party should steal his host's tablecloth? And if one of them had done so, that a tablet of metal should be cast to record the fact? Or that the tablet should be placed in a temple as an imprecation on the guests suspected only of stealing it, and their devoted heads consigned to the infernal deities? I cannot bring myself to believe that any Celt, Roman, or Romano-Briton of Bath would be so foolish.

¹ W. Lewis and Son, *The Bath Herald*, Bath, 1881.

In line 2, if Professor Zangemeister, Head Librarian of the University of Heidelberg, requires an *i* instead of an *e*, then I would read in my translation, "*Ivit commentariensis*"; or if an *e* is to remain, then *E COMMENTARIUS* might be preferred as relating to Avite Aurelius et *Ælius* in the third line,—a common form in relation to *liberti*. I admit that "*Egit commentariensis*" is not common on inscriptions, though good Latin. But where can you find a record similar to the present? "Mortals may dare where angels fear to tread." If I have been too bold or too ignorant in my interpretation, may I be forgiven; and before taking my leave, I may observe that if the *Δ* at the end of the second line, and forming the first syllable of *aqua*, is considered too faint to do duty as a letter, then omitting it altogether the words would be "*mihique quacum cliens Quintus*", which makes the sense even more explicit, and the sentence runs better thus,—"*Vilbia Miniana*, in company (of the little sister *Jovina*), bathed four times (*quater*), with whom (*quacum*) my client *Quintus* went as secretary. Ancestrally he was named *Aurelius* and *Ælius*", etc. According to the usual practice, the *v* with a line over, in the fourth line, is to be read as a numeral, and not a letter. The *IV* in the second wants the line over, though this may have been corroded by age; but if it is objected that the *IV* must be read as letters, then *E CIV* might stand for *e civibus*, if *Quintus* was entitled to citizenship; or *IV* might mean *IVIT* if *E COMMENTARIUS* is adopted.

These alternative readings in no way affect the general sense of the inscription according to the interpretation which I have given, which is based upon the principle that each line is read from right to left, as in Mr. Davis's and Mr. Sayce's version. Others adopt the reading from left to right, in the order of the words, but each word is read singly from right to left. The sense, according to the two versions, is therefore totally different in each, and the sequence of the names may possibly prove the clue to settle a correct reading.

THE
BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CYLINDER-
SEALS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES, ESQ., OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL
ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

(*Read 3rd June 1885.*)

Intaglio engraving.—Interesting questions connected with the subject.
—Early use of the art.—Mace-head and cylinder-seal of the time of Sargon of Agadé, 3,800 B.C.—Masterly engraving at this early period.—Material used to cut hard stones uncertain.—Early expressions for “to engrave with the hard stone” in Akkadian and Assyrian.—Periods or schools of intaglio engraving in Babylonia and Assyria.—Characteristics of the earliest period of the art in Babylonia.—Later specimens belonging to the same period.—The second period.—Characteristics.—Cylinder of Dungi, about 2,500 B.C.—Later examples.—A cylinder showing styles of two distinct periods and countries.—A rough specimen.—The third period.—Examples.—Characteristics of the style.—Careful treatment of the human form.—Suggestions as to the origin of intaglio engraving in Babylonia.

OF all the numerous sections into which archæological research may be divided, there is probably none which may be regarded as of greater interest than the study of the rise, development, and perfecting of the art of intaglio engraving, as engraving on hard stone is somewhat tautologically called. It is upon this subject, in so far as it is connected with Assyrian archæology, that I venture to make a few remarks, in the hope that what I have to say may prove not altogether uninteresting to the members of the British Archæological Association.

It is not without some lack of confidence that I approach the task; the subject is so wide and so many-sided. The date of the invention of the art involves also the question of the date of the discovery and use of the diamond in engraving on stone. The progress of the art, again, involves also the question as to the period of the invention of the lathe, the development of art in the abstract, and a whole string of mythological and philological questions, together with the rather wide-reaching question of the invention and development of the art of writing itself. A full and exhaustive examination of the whole subject it

is, therefore, not my intention to make, but only to touch upon the more evident points.

The art of engraving on hard stone began at a very early period; but the precise date at which, as well as the part of the world where it was invented, will probably always be a matter of conjecture. Mr. Renton, the well-known engraver in hard stone, is of opinion that the art was invented or discovered in India, that country being endowed with a large natural wealth of diamonds. Nevertheless, I would rather regard Babylonia as the original home of the art, because the earliest specimens of engraving on hard stone come from that country, and show at an exceedingly early period a very high degree of excellence indeed.

The earliest example of engraving on stone which we have in England is preserved in the British Museum. The object upon which the engraving is cut is egg-shaped, the substance of which it is formed being a peculiar kind of pink-veined marble. It is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and is drilled from end to end with a rather large hole; the object having, seemingly, originally been the head of a mace or staff of office. It bears an inscription in seven lines (two of them double), and reads as follows: "I, Sargon, the Messenger-King, King of Agadé, have dedicated [this] to Samas in Sippara."

If, as is very generally admitted, this Sargon be the same as the father of Narâm-Sin, then the date of this monument is about 3800 B.C.; that is to say, that about 5,680 years have passed since the inscription which it bears was engraven as it now appears. Besides the inscription above translated, it has traces of another, probably much older; erased most likely by order of the King whose name it now bears. The name of this Sargon I is also to be found (as I have already pointed out¹) on a small cylinder which is in the possession of M. de Clercq of Paris. This interesting object belonged to Ibnî-sarru, the King's scribe, and may therefore be regarded as the royal signet. It bears a double representation of the hero Gistubar kneeling on one knee, and holding a vase from which a liquid is flowing in a threefold stream; a bull

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for Nov. 1883.

with long curved horns being shown, with raised head and open mouth, drinking the fluid. The workmanship of the whole subject is most masterly, and is especially striking when we consider at what an early period it was designed and engraved.

The style of this monument has enabled me to estimate the date of a few other subjects of about 3000 or 3500 B.C., one of which, representing the hero Gistubar struggling with a lion, is reproduced on Plate I, No. 1. I would particularly draw attention to the fineness of the workmanship. Not only did they use drills, but they used very fine ones. The material upon which the subject is engraved is red and white banded jasper of a most unpleasant colour to engrave upon. These old-time Babylonians must have had splendid eyes to execute, without any aid to the vision, such fine work.

It is uncertain what material was used for the engraving of this and similar objects. The stone, jasper, is rather hard; but corundum may have been used for the work, as this substance is only exceeded in hardness by the diamond.

The forms of the characters of the inscription engraved on the cylinder of M. de Clercq indicate that it belongs to the very earliest period, as they differ but little from the line-forms of the period immediately following that when hieroglyphics were used; the date of the monument being, as has been already remarked, about 3800 B.C. It has been estimated by various Assyriologists that it was during the reign of this same Sargon of Agadé that the many most valuable syllabaries and bilingual lists, of which we have late copies, were drawn up; and if so, then the Akkadians, those pre-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia, about whom so little is known, but so much has during the last few years been written, had already an ideograph for engraving. This ideograph, which has the pronunciation of *nim* or *elam*, means "to be high", "highland", and "peak", implying merely the use of a point in working on hard stone. This word *nim*, however, the Babylonians translate by the phrase *nakāru sa ʿri*, "to cut, of".... Now the ideographs used by the Babylonians for the word *ʿri* mean literally "the strong (or hard) stone", and were used also to express the word ring

BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS.

1



2



3

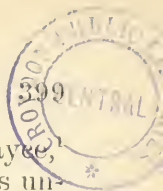


4



5





or bracelet. Whether we may, with Professor Sayce,¹ translate the phrase by "to cut, of the diamond", is uncertain. The brilliance of the diamond rather than its hardness would probably have struck the early Babylonian mind first. Nevertheless it is not at all unlikely that Professor Sayce is right; and if so, allowing for a certain amount of learning-time, the introduction of the diamond can hardly have taken place later than 4,000 years before Christ. Of course it is needless to say that to accept this date (for which there is good authority), the marginal chronology of the earliest chapters of our Bibles must be utterly given up.

The art of intaglio engraving in Babylonia and Assyria may be divided into periods or schools; the former term being, perhaps, the more correct.

The Art of the First Period.—The earliest of which we have any record is that which we have been discussing whilst considering the question of the use of the diamond. The art of this period is distinguished by great natural freedom and accuracy, with great attention to details. In the case of the cylinder (Pl. 1, No. 1) which bears the representation of Gistubar struggling with a lion,—the cylinder of a scribe who probably lived a few hundred years after Sargon of Agadé,—the work is most minute. The carefully curled hair of the man, the muscles of the legs and breast, and the lines on his belt, being excellently rendered. The lion, however, is even better: the fierce, frowning brows, the open mouth with the lips raised, showing the terrible teeth, are all admirable; and in addition to this, not only the muscles, but even the veins of the legs are shown. This seal must have been regarded as a splendid and costly work of art. The inscription, which is written in the earliest style, is as follows: "Apil (?)—Samas of Labil, E (?)—meslam, the scribe, thy servant."

The next specimen to which I would draw attention is No. 2 on Plate 1. It belongs probably to a rather later period, say about 3000 B.C., and it may also be the work of a different place. It shows a warrior-chief armed with

¹ *Assyrian Grammar*, Syllabary, No. 361. Prof. Sayce reads *semiri* instead of *êri*. The Babylonian word for "finger-ring" was *ûuku*.

bow and arrows, apparently returning from a warlike expedition. He is accompanied by three men clothed in goatskin robes, and armed with swords or staves. The fourth, dressed differently, is probably a prisoner. To the extreme right, beneath the inscription, are two figures in smaller proportion, carrying objects of furniture, perhaps intended for the spoil. This cylinder belonged to the scribe or secretary of the brother of the king reigning at the time to which it refers. The workmanship is rough, but the faces are well rendered. Especially noteworthy is the third figure, who wears a kind of Scotch cap. The style of the writing also agrees with the date given above, namely about 3000 B.C.

The Art of the Second Period.—The second period of the art of engraving in Babylonia probably began in the 28th century before Christ, and the style is more distinctly Akkadian than that of the foregoing period. As a rule the workmanship is very fine, the artists of this period being especially successful in their treatment of subjects engraved upon hematite. The figures are tall and thin,—a characteristic of the Akkadian race; the features are very carefully engraved, as well as the details of the dress. The inscriptions, also, are often beautifully engraved. This change of style is probably owing to a change of dynasty, the early kings of the period being almost, if not quite, pure Akkadians.

Of the examples of this period reproduced here, the earliest is probably No. 3 of Plate 1. It is a cylinder bearing the name of King Dungi (about 2500 B.C.), and the style is that of Tel-lo, anciently called Lagas. The subject represents the god Mes-lam-ta-ê, or Nergal, presenting a three-branched object (perhaps emblematic of the dominion over three kingdoms) to Dungi, the beardless figure before him. Behind stands a divine attendant with the hands raised in adoration. This subject is very common. The style is exceedingly rough, and forms a marked contrast with the productions of a few centuries later. Compare Nos. 4 and 5.

The next two, which are probably of a slightly later date than the above, are similar. The first (Plate 1, No. 4) shows a bearded god and a divine attendant. The

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS.



2



3



1



3



About 2,000 B.C. to 500 B.C.



fineness of this work is very noteworthy, and the figures show the Akkadian type very well. The inscription is as follows, "Sin-lîdis, son of Ura-ki-da, servant of Nergal"; the standing, bearded figure being intended, seemingly, for the god Nergal. The other (No. 5) has also a representation of a divine figure and an attendant; but the work is not quite so fine. The inscription is as follows: "Samas-lîpir, son of Abum-pîkar, servant of Rimmon." The divine figure here, however, can hardly be Rimmon. The engraver probably kept a number of these designs in stock, and added the name of the person and the god whom he served without much reference to the design engraved upon the cylinder; unless, of course, it were for a person of high rank, or he were well paid for it.

All the subjects of the artists of this period are characterised by great simplicity. The designs are generally either composed of two or three standing figures or else a seated god, the sun-god or the moon-god, with divine attendants leading the owner of the cylinder into his presence.

The first design on Plate 2 belongs, strange as it may seem, to the period which we are now discussing, namely, about 2000 B.C. But if looked at closely, it will be seen that it shows two distinct styles,—one distinguished by its delicacy and finish, the other by the entire absence of these two characteristics. The secret of the matter is that the cylinder got into the hands of a Cypriote, who had the inscription ground out, the strange dragons, lion, ibex, and guilloche ornament engraved in its place, and the vacant spaces filled up with apparently meaningless figures of men, animals, etc., having no reference to the original design. The portion executed by Babylonians represents apparently the god Nergal and two attendants, and is, as I have before remarked, characterised by all the delicacy of the best period of this style of art. Compare the three tall figures with those represented on Plate 1, No. 4.

As a *rough* example of art, executed apparently towards the end of this second period, the next example (Plate 2, No. 2) is a good specimen. It represents a religious ceremony,—a god holding a cup, an altar, a worshipper, and various emblems. Apparently the artist feared that the

figures represented would not be recognised, so he has written the sign for "god" above the divine figure, and the sign for "man" above the other. This is probably of the time of the decline of the art of the second period.

The Art of the Third Period.—The next period probably began about 1000 B.C., and lasted until 400 B.C. Of early specimens of the art of engraving on hard stone at this period we have none. The example here reproduced (Plate 2, No. 4) shows quite a different style from any of the others; the national dress has become exceedingly plain. The commonest representations of this period show a subject similar to that reproduced, a eunuch or a bearded priest making offerings before an altar, on the other side of which is a kind of pyramid with the crescent moon on the top, mounted on a kind of stand; and a cock, probably an emblem of the sun, also on a similar stand. During this period religious emblems had, for the most part, taken the place of divine figures.

No. 7 on Plate 3 is also an example of the art of this period, and illustrates the use of these cylinders. Impressions of two subjects are shown here, each belonging to a different person, but both (strange to say) bearing the same name. In the first example the principal figure only of the subject is impressed twice. It is a man in the attitude of worship. Part of the inscription on the cylinder is also given, being the same as the two lines on the right. It reads, "Seal of Kapti-îlāni-Marduk, the scribe." The second example shows a divine figure, a kind of mace, a bird, a cross, and an unknown emblem. The writing on the right is the same as the other, namely, "Seal of Kapti-îlāni-Marduk, the scribe." The workmanship of these cylinders must have been very fine; but as they have been rather carelessly impressed,¹ it has not come out well. The document from which they are taken is a contract-tablet, dated in the third year of Nabonidus (552 B.C.), on the edge of which they are impressed.

The characteristics of the art of this third period are great simplicity (brought about partly by the severely

¹ In the second example the divine figure is doubled, being rolled over twice.

ASSYRIAN, CYPRIAN AND OTHER CYLINDERS.

1



2



3



4



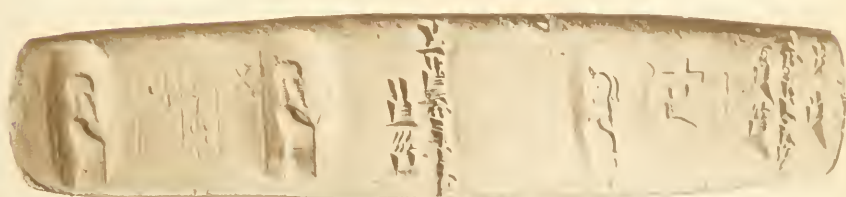
5



6



7





plain dress worn in Babylonia at the time) combined with much delicacy and excellence of execution. The care bestowed upon the modelling of the human face at this time is remarkable, and is fairly well shown by the impression of the cylinder of the first of the two Kapti-ilāni-Marduks (Plate 3, No. 7).

The question, of course, naturally arises, whence did the Babylonians get their art of engraving in hard stone? This question is one which is not easy to answer, but is, nevertheless, very important. I have already discussed the question of the use of the diamond; and in connection with this question it is to be recollected that the original engravers on hard stone were probably the non-Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia. Diamonds, however, are also found in several places in the Ural Mountains, and the question very naturally arises, did the Akkadian inhabitants of Mesopotamia come from that part of the world, and introduce at once the art of intaglio engraving and the diamond into Mesopotamia? It is as a suggestion only that this is thrown out. The presence of this non-Semitic race (for non-Semitic it certainly was) in Babylonia is a mystery which time alone will reveal.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE 1.

- No. 1.—Cylinder representing in duplicate, reversed, the hero Gistubar overcoming a lion. Seal, probably, of a royal scribe. Jasper. Length of the original, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch; diam., $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch. Described on p. 399.
- No. 2.—Cylinder probably representing an early Babylonian chief with followers, prisoners, and spoil. The inscription is doubtful, but is probably to be read, "Billu, brother of the King of Erech, the scribe, thy servant." Marble, mottled, black and white. Length of the original, $1\frac{5}{16}$ in.; diam., $\frac{1}{16}$ in. Described on pp. 399-400.
- No. 3.—Cylinder of Dungi, King of a part of Babylonia about 2500 B.C. The inscription is a dedication to the god *Mes-lam-ta-ê*, or Nergal, for the preservation of the life of Dungi, son of Ur-Babi (or Ur-Bagas). Length, 2 ins.; diam., $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. From Baghdad. Described on p. 400.
- No. 4.—Cylinder of Sin-iddis. Hematite. Length, 1 in.; diam., $\frac{9}{16}$ in. Described on pp. 400-401.
- No. 5.—Cylinder of Samas-lipir. Hematite. Length, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.; diam., $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Described on p. 401.

PLATE 2.

- No. 1.—Cylinder of early Babylonian and late Cyprian workmanship. Hematite. Length, 1 in.; diam., $\frac{9}{16}$ in. Described on p. 401.
- No. 2.—Cylinder of rough Babylonian workmanship. God and worshipper. Limestone. Length, 2 ins.; diam., $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Described on pp. 401-402.
- No. 3.—Assyrian cylinder, probably used as an amulet. Royal figures in adoration before the sacred tree, above which is the winged disc representing Assur. Winged, eagle-headed figures offering fir-cones. Inscribed, "Seal of Muses-Ninip, the scribe, son of Ninip-êres, ditto (*i.e.*, the scribe), son of the Salmanu-hanis-ilāni, ditto." Carnelian. Length, 2 ins.; diam., $\frac{5}{8}$ in. From Sherif Khan.
- No. 4.—Babylonian cylinder representing a priest, altar, and emblems. Chalcedony. Length, $1\frac{7}{16}$ in.; diam., $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Described on p. 402.
- No. 5.—Assyrian cylinder, of rough and unfinished workmanship, representing two divine figures with a worshipper between. To the left, the sacred tree with the winged disc above. Carnelian. Length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.; diam., $\frac{5}{8}$ in.

PLATE 3.

- No. 1.—Assyrian cylinder. Eunuch-priest before a sacred tree, with the winged, three-headed figure above (compare No. 4). On the right, a monolith representing a god or king; to the left, an ibex on lotus-flowers. Length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.; diam., $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
- No. 2.—Assyrian cylinder. God, attendant, bull, and worshipper. Hittite inscription, "Dabarak, son of Parpas", added at a late period. Chalcedony. Length, $1\frac{7}{16}$ in.; diam., $\frac{11}{16}$ in.
- No. 3.—Assyrian cylinder. Winged, eagle-headed figure holding a basket; worshipper, and a divine figure with a dog. Pchlevi inscription added later. Length, $\frac{5}{16}$ in.; diam., $\frac{9}{16}$ in.
- No. 4.—Cylinder engraved in the Assyrian style. Male figure, probably intended for the hero Gistubar, carrying off four young deer. King and priest in adoration before the figure of Assur (the object with the wings and tail of a bird and three human heads,—one in the middle, and one on each wing) borne aloft by two human-headed monsters with the legs of an eagle and the tail of a scorpion; a kind of shrine between. Phœnician inscription, "Midbareth". Carnelian. Length, $1\frac{5}{16}$ in.; diam., $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- No. 5.—Cyprian cylinder. Divine figure, animals, and monsters. Sacred tree, griffins, and ibexes. Hematite. Length, 1 in.; diam., $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
- No. 6.—Persian cylinder. Darius in his chariot shooting lions. Ferouher above, and palm-trees on each side. Inscribed with the words, "I am Darius the great King", in Persian, Median, and Babylonian. Jasper. Length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.; diam., $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
- No. 7.—Edge of a contract-table, dated in the third year of Nabonidus. Described on pp. 402-403.

NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTION OF THE CAREW CROSS, PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read 21st January 1885.)

THE Carew Cross formed one of the most attractive objects visited by the members of the British Archæological Association during the Congress at Tenby in 1884, and only recently our Associate, Mr. C. Lynam, of Stoke-upon-Trent, has laid before the Society a short paper upon it, which has been already printed.¹ The general features of the Cross are well known not only to British but to foreign antiquaries; but all attempts to decipher the inscription have hitherto been unsatisfactory. Before recording my attempts to read the inscription, it will be advantageous to pass in review the conclusions which other epigraphists have arrived at respecting it.

Professor I. O. Westwood, in his *Lapidarium Walliæ*, gives a plate of the cross (No. LVII), and at p. 120 reads the inscription thus :

m a y g i t c n t r e c e t t e >	or centre
---	-----------

“The letters”, he writes, “are very irregular; several of them are so ill shaped, especially the third in the top line, the fourth in the second line, and the terminal portion of the third line, that nothing positive can be said of them. It is remarkable that a not quite correct copy of this inscription has been found in Ireland,² on a block

¹ *Journal*, vol. xli, p. 129. For an illustration of the inscribed side, see *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. iii, p. 71, and cf. x, 285.

² In *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Ser., No. 39, p. 226, is the following note by Rev. J. Graves on this cross: “Perhaps it may be read, ‘Maqy gitentrecette’ [the cross of] the son of Gitentrecette. The form *Maqi* occurs on the St. Dogmael’s Stone as the Irish Oghams equivalent to *Fili*; and the names *Trenegussi*, *Trenecati*, *Dunocati*, etc., also occur, which seem of a similar class with Gitentrecette.” Cf. also Hübner, *Inscr. Brit. Christianæ*, No. 96.

of sandstone at Fethard Castle, belonging to the Carew family." The Rev. Mr. Graves, in the passage referred to below, says he has reason to believe that this copy of the Carew Cross inscription was ingeniously carved on the stone where it now appears not more than sixteen years ago. We may, therefore, dismiss it from further consideration after quoting Prof. Westwood's reading of it.

maϕ3it
e u t p c
c e t . t . s x

Hübner,¹ quoting Professor Rhys,² reads

ma p 3 i t
e v d f i e
c e t t e y

Margeteud fi(lius) Ecetey, and refers for his authority to Professor Westwood in *Gent. Mag.*, 1861, vol. ii, p. 44.

Mr. Graves, in the note referred to, suggests that "perhaps" the inscription "may read *Maqy gitentrecette* [the cross of] the son of Gitentrecette."

A cast of the inscription (see Plate) was exhibited by Mr. Lynam on the occasion of reading his paper before the Association, and the lettering was carefully examined by the members then present; and I undertook to examine the inscription more minutely, and report on it at a future meeting. I have now the honour of laying the following Report before the Society:—

The inscription has been stunned, or picked out with a blunt point, and appears to read:


ma q y . g l t
e u t . i y e
c e t t e y

The first word, *maqy*, is perfectly clear, with a point or stop after it. The *m* is formed by three upright strokes

¹ *Inscribed Stones of Wales*, p. 7.

² *Inscr. Brit. Chr.*, No. 96.



with a cross-bar not quite at the summit of the strokes, thus,  This peculiar form of *m* is seen in the Gospels of the eighth century (British Museum, Royal MS. I, B. vii, f. 55). The *a* is like *cc* of the so-called Visigothic minuscule alphabet,—a form which occurs not uncommonly in MSS. written in England in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. This form is also common in the Welsh lapidary alphabet.¹ The *q* has a small circle at the top of the line, and a long (almost vertical) tail reaching far below the line. The *y* is somewhat obliquely set, and its tail touches the tail of the *q*. The stop is clearly marked below the *y*.

The word *magy* is described by writers as a British word for *son*, equivalent to the Welsh *mab*.² Mr. Graves takes the word in that sense when he reads (*l. c.*) “[The cross of] the son

Westwood mentions the word *macculi* (which was probably not far off in point of pronunciation) as the genitive form of *mac*, or *son*. For the remarkable *q* with small loop and long tail, I may refer, for example's sake, to Hübner's work, No. 3 (Cornwall), *quenatauci*; No. 32 (Wareham)*quivit*; No. 83 (Caermarthen), *maqu*....; and No. 151 (Anglesey), *requicit*. The word *magi* or *magy* is of so frequent occurrence in Welsh lapidary inscriptions that it is unnecessary to specialise any instance of it here. I shall bring forward some notable instances of its use further on.

The next word I read *Gilteut*. The *g* is of the clearly defined Welsh lapidary forms, as may be observed in numberless instances. It is followed by a very small, dwarfed *i*, for which we fortunately have a recorded example in the inscription on the stone at Wareham, co. Dorset,³ where the word or name *Catgugic* has the well-formed *g* followed by a diminutive *i*, almost exactly reproducing the *gi* of this word on the Carew stone. The *l* has a bold hook at the base, as is perfectly clear in all of its parts. The dimensions of this letter almost suggest that the stonecutter intended it to stand by way of a monogram or compound for *i l*. It is followed by a *t*, a small, compact letter with horizontal bar at top, and the

¹ See Westwood, *Lap. Wal.*, and Hübner, *Inscr. B. C.*, passim.

² Westwood, *Lap. Wal.*, No. 116.

³ Hübner, No. 32.

stem of the letter hooked and finished off with a round dot or point. This form of *t* is that known as an uncial letter, and is frequently found in early MSS., and down to the tenth century. This completes the first line of the four of which the whole inscription consists.

The second line commences with a round *e* with a bar-stroke, resembling the Greek ϵ . The second letter is *u*, formed by a nearly vertical stroke and a horizontal bar uniting it to another stroke. This square, uncial form of *u* is not uncommon in MSS. of native origin, and is found in MSS. even so late as the period of the tenth century. The last letter, *t*, of the word *Gilteut*, resembles the first *t* already described in the first line. This letter drops below the range of the ϵ and *u* already inscribed in the second line, on account of the long tail in the *q* just vertically over it, which the epigrapher has prolonged so much that it occupies part of the space in the second line which this *t* would otherwise have occupied.

The name *Gilteut* here inscribed, is in my belief an early form of *Iltud* or *Iltut*, perhaps initially affected (according to some rule of British phonetics) on account of the coming together of the final *y* in *maqqy* and the *I* of *Ilteut*. The name *Ilteut* is also found under the forms *Iltutus*, *Iltet*, *Iltyd*, and *Iltud*, and may be taken to be well known to early Welsh archæology in connection with the celebrated St. *Iltyd*.

Continuing the examination of the stone, we get a vertical stroke or *l*. It is followed by *y* of the same form as that in the word *maqqy* in the first line. This *y* has a tail curved to the left, and the stone-cutter has run the tail of the *y* into the *i*. Just as in the word *maqqy*, the tail of the *y* runs up to and touches the long part of the *q*, so here the tail of the *y* runs up to the *i*, and touches it in the middle. It would seem that the stone-cutter had a system, in the case of *y*, of making it join itself somewhere to the precedent letter. This word *iy* (for the signification of which I am unable to offer any suggestions, unless it be a symbol for *maqqy*) is followed by the letter ϵ , and this completes the second line.

The third line reads $\epsilon\epsilon\tau\tau$, and these are followed by ϵ , not so well formed as in the other cases where it occurs; and this again is followed by *y* of somewhat larger dimen-

sions than in the other example. This *y*, like the other two, is joined by the tail to the preceding letter. This gives us the word *ecettey*, and completes the inscription,¹ “Maqy Giltent iy ecettey”, or “Maqy Giltenti ecettey”. There is no doubt that the *y* is the sign of inflection, and is to be compared with the *i* in *maccui* (gen.) already mentioned. Thus we arrive at the meaning as “[The cross] of the son of Ilteut [the son] of Ecett or Echwydd.”

m	a	q	y	g	i	l	t
ε	u	t	i	y	ε		
c	ε	t	t	ε	y		

The last mentioned form occurs, I find, very opportunely in Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 308 (Saints from A.D. 664 to A.D. 700): “Mechell or Mechyll, the son of Echwydd ab Gwyn Gohoyw. He was the founder of Llanfechell, Anglesey, and was buried in the churchyard of Penrhos Llugwy, in the same county, where there was lately a stone with the following inscription, HIC JACET MACCVQ ECCE TI.”² Westwood, in his *Lapid.*, p. 189, reads this inscription, “Hic jacit maccu decceti.”

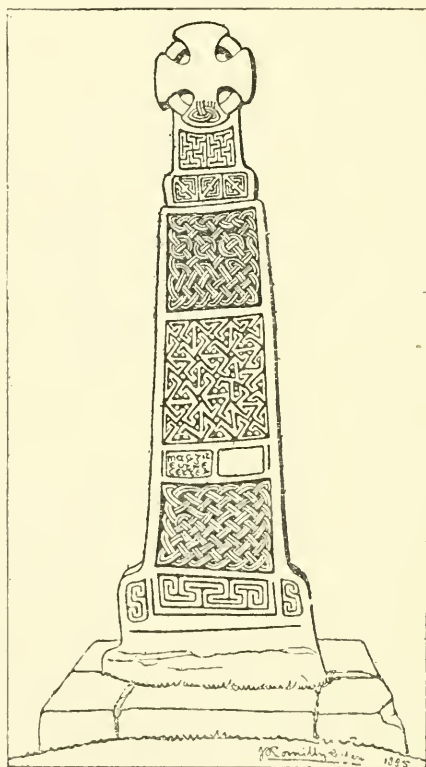
Professor Rhys, in his interesting handbook, *Celtic Britain* (1882), at p. 228 points out the occurrence of a somewhat analogous name, Mac-Decet, on ancient monuments in Devonshire, Anglesey, and Ireland; among them the largest early monument of the kind in the British islands, that standing on high ground overlooking Kenmare River, in the south-west of Ireland. Again, at p. 258, speaking of the Goidels, or Celts of the Goidelic branch, or first Celtic invaders, modified in many respects by its absorption and assimilation of the indigenous element, or race whom the Celts found in possession of the island when they came. He says “the influence of these aborigines can be detected even within the narrow circle of their (the Celts) ancient inscriptions. One of these Goidel names showing the influence of the aborigines is Maccu Deceti, or Decet's son, a name which occurs in epi-

¹ Some antiquaries have, I believe, seen in these last two letters, *f*, *a*, which they expand into *fecit crucem*; but I cannot say I accept this rendering.

² Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua*.

taphs in Mona, in Devon, and various places in the southern half of Ireland, with *Deceti* spelt in such a variety of ways as to suggest a non-Celtic origin. It was probably the name of a god, ancestor, or eponymus; and we seem to have it, as already observed, in a Brythonic form in the name of the people called Decantæ, in North Scotland."

With this quotation I conclude my notes on this inscription, which I hope will be the means of again drawing attention to and inviting discussion upon what I fear is still in some measure unexplained. Of the art-work shown on the cross much might be said; especially should



we notice that the cross at Nevern, co. Pembroke, not far off (an illustration of which I am here enabled to give for comparison) has many points of resemblance to that of Carew. The so-called Chinese ornament pointed out by

Westwood¹ is seen in both ; so also the cross (fig. 2 below) made up of four T's.² The arrangement of the inscribed panels is common to both ; and there are other details which seem to show that they are to be referred to the same date and the same hand. The Llantwit Cross,³ in Glamorganshire (on which, curiously enough, the name of ILTET occurs), has also patterns of somewhat similar details.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, to whom I am much indebted for the drawing from which the accompanying illustration is derived, in a letter of 9th December 1885, writes to me as follows :—

“The only MS. in which I have noticed the pairs of dots in the key-pattern panel, is the Mac Durnan Gospels at Lambeth (A.D. 885-927). In stonework they only occur in Wales, and only on the following crosses : Cross of Samson at Llantwit Major (Westwood, *Lap. Wal.*, Pl. 3), Eiudon Cross at Golden Grove, Carnarthenshire (*ib.*, Pl. 43), Craven Cross (Pl. 57), and Nevern (*ib.*, Pl. 62). These three ornaments are found on all four, and the



1



2



3

inscriptions are in all cases cut on little panels with lines round them. I do not think that all these minute resemblances can be accidental. The design also of the key-pattern is the same on all. Besides resembling each other, they differ from the rest of the Welsh stones in all these points. I should not hesitate to say that these four crosses mentioned are of the same period, and possibly by the same designer. All the evidence tends to show that they are of the ninth century.”

¹ *Lapid.*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, Plates 4, 5, 6.

³ See *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. x, p. 285.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH NOVEMBER 1885.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Major-General R. Aislabie, R.A., 102 Piccadilly, London
 J. Broad, Esq., Ashford
 Godfrey Boulton, Esq., M.A., 79 Highbury Hill, N.
 Thomas Charles Clarke, Esq., Rock Park, Rock Ferry
 Louis flyteh, Esq., The Terraces, Freshwater, Isle of Wight
 The Venerable Dr. Hannah, Archdeacon of Lewes, Vicar of
 Brighton
 William Pound, Esq., Cooper's Row, E.C.
 R. Rabson, Esq., London and County Bank, Woolwich
 E. J. Reeves, Esq., Mayor of Brighton
 Herbert John Reid, Esq., Donnington, Newbury
 C. W. Wickens, Esq., Hildenborough, Tonbridge, Kent
 Rev. Christopher Wilkie, M.A., Kingstone Rectory, Canterbury
 W. H. Wills, Esq., M.P., 25 Hyde Park Gardens

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie," tom. xix. 1884-5. "Bulletin Historique de la Société." Nouvelle Série, 133e Livraison. 1885.
 „ „ for "Archæologia," vol. 48, Part II.
 „ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," 2nd Series, vol. ix; Index. Vol. x, No. II.
 „ „ for "List of the Society of Antiquaries of London," 4 June 1885.
 „ „ for "Archæological Journal," vol. xlii, No. 166. 1885.
 „ „ for "Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects," vol. i, New Series.
 „ „ for "Kalendar of the Royal Institute of British Architects," Oct. 1885.

- To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects," Nos. 15, 16, New Series, vol. ii, Parts 1, 2.
- " " for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," vol. viii, Part I.
- " " for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society," vol. xxx. New Series, vol. x.
- " " for "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society," New Series, vol. i, Part I.
- " " for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Fifth Series, Nos. 6, 7. April, July 1885.
- " " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire," Part 37, vol. xviii, ii.
- " " for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. vii, Fourth Series, April 1885, No. 62.
- " " for "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," vols. xxiv, xxv.
- " " for "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," vol. i, Parts 18-23.
- To the Rev. B. H. Blacker* for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries." Ed. Parts xxvii, xxviii.
- To the Author* for "Road-Guide to the Southern Scottish Counties," by James Lennox, Esq.
- " " for "Di Due Stelo Etrusche," by Giovanni Gozzadini. Roma, 1885.
- " " for "Harrow School and its Surroundings," by Percy M. Thornton. 1885. 8vo. Received through W. Winckley, Esq., F.S.A., Harrow.
- To Edward Walford, Esq.*, for "Walford's Antiquarian," Nos. 44-47. Aug. to Nov. 1885.
- To the Author*, for "On a Painting discovered in Chaldon Church, Surrey, 1870," by J. G. Waller, Esq.

Mr. John Harris of Belvedere read a paper on the "Saxon Font in South Hayling Church, Hayling Island, Hants," and exhibited drawings to scale of the four sides, which are sculptured with interlaced work. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. J. F. Hodgetts made some observations on the interlaced patterns on the font.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read the following extracts of communications from the Rev. G. Butterworth, M.A., Vicar of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, to the Editor of *The Times*, and to him, respecting the newly discovered Saxon chapel in that parish,

and exhibited a plan and sketches forwarded by that gentleman, as well as a squeeze of the ODDA Stone at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, kindly forwarded by A. J. Evans, Esq., F.S.A., Keeper of the Museum.

NEWLY DISCOVERED SAXON CHAPEL, DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BY THE REV. G. BUTTERWORTH, M.A.

To the Editor of "The Times."

"SIR,—It is now a conclusion tolerably well established that the ancient edifice was formerly a chapel. It consists of two portions, nave and chancel, divided by a chancel-arch of very solid construction, the width between jamb and jamb being 6 feet 6 inches. The extreme exterior length of the chapel is 46 feet, the thickness of the walls being $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There can be little doubt that this chapel, forming now the central portion of a large farm-house, was originally attached to a manor-house belonging to the Abbey of Westminster. The whole building is still called 'Abbot's Court.' The chapel has all the appearance of being of pre-Norman date, and from the massiveness of its construction is calculated, if only it has a fair chance, to last for centuries still.

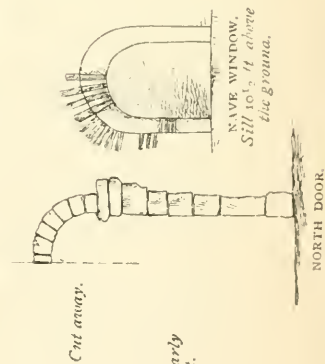
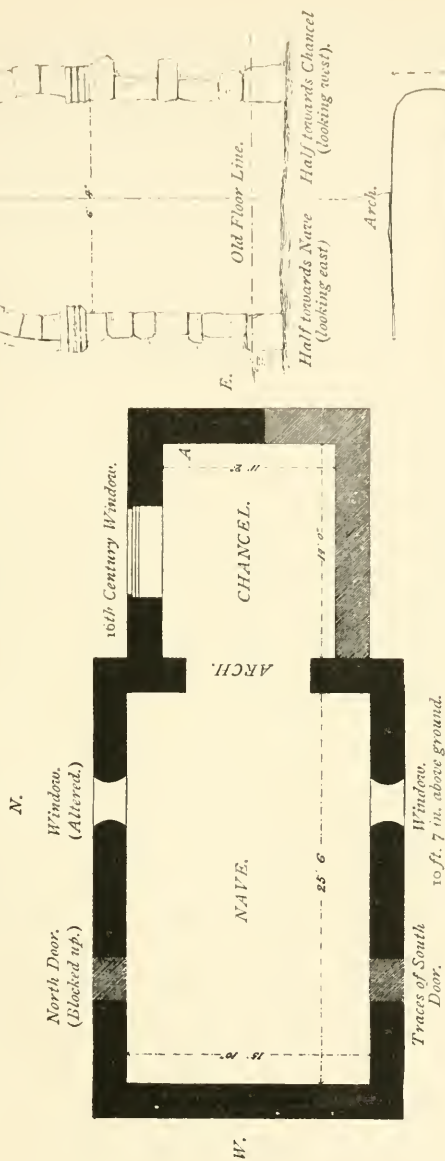
"We are now in the possession of evidence which makes it probable that the exact age of the edifice may be told. Built into a portion of the farm-house, an inscribed stone has been discovered, which was evidently the dedication-slab of the altar of the chapel. Unfortunately the stone has had its centre cut away, and hopelessly destroyed; enough, however, remains of the inscription to prove its real nature and purport. It runs thus :

[IN] HONO
[RĒ SANCT]E TRI
[NITATIS] HOC
[ALTAR]E DE
[DIC]ATV̄ Ē :

"Now it was ordered by an early English canon, viz., one of those set forth by Archbishop Wulfred at Cealchythe, A.D. 816, that all altars at their erection should have attached to them the name of the saint in whose honour they were consecrated. This injunction was obeyed at first, but after a time it became a dead letter: hence the rarity of the survival, down to the present day, of such inscriptions of dedication.

<p> †ODDA DVX IVSSIT HANC REGIAM AVLAM CONSTREVI ATQVE DEDICARI IN HONO RĒ S TRINITATIS PRO ANIMA GER MANI SVI ÆLFRI CI QVE DE HOC LOCO ASSV̄PTA EALDREDVS VERO EP'S QVI EANDĒ DEDICAVIT II. IDI BVS AP'L' XIII. AVTĒ ANNOS REGNI EADWARDI REGIS ANGLORŪ </p>

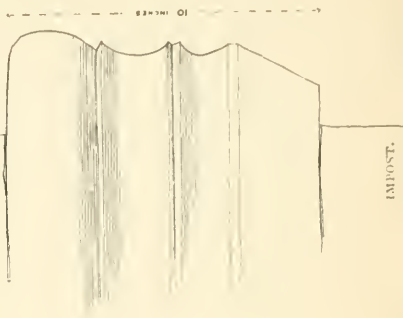
NEWLY DISCOVERED CHAPEL AT DEERHURST.



Note.—At A there is an Early English Bracket.



DEDICATION STONE.



IMPPOST.

"But I proceed to point to another inscription of greater evidential value. Close to the chapel, as it appears, in the year 1675, there was found, buried in the adjoining orchard, a stone bearing the inscription, which, it will be observed, like the one given above, speaks of a dedication to the Holy Trinity.

"The fortunate finder of this important inscription, which is preserved at Oxford, was Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Powell, the upright Judge dismissed by James II, and replaced on the Bench by William, who was then lessee of the Abbot's Court property under the Chapter of Westminster. Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), records the discovery. Now, hitherto it has naturally been taken for granted that this Odda inscription referred to Deerhurst Church, which, strangely enough, is indisputably of the same very early date; but since our recent discovery at Abbot's Court it has become almost certain, to my mind (for reasons which I forbear giving here at length), that it rightfully belongs to the small Saxon chapel.

"In the fourteenth year of King Edward the Confessor (1056), spoken of in the inscription, the very extensive manor of Deerhurst, comprising several modern parishes, belonged, not to Westminster (which then, as the Confessor's new foundation, was as yet non-existent), but to Pershore Abbey. It was not till the memorable Childermas, 28th of December 1065, that the dying Edward signed the charter conveying to Westminster Abbey not only the manor of Deerhurst (now lost to Pershore), but also a vast number of other valuable possessions. By this time Odda, Earl of Devon, had been dead several years; in fact, the *Saxon Chronicle* and that of Florence of Worcester record his death at Deerhurst a few months only after the date of the consecration by Bishop Aldred of his 'regia aula'.

"It has been suggested to me by a learned friend that this Latin term, 'regia aula', which has puzzled many an antiquary, and been usually taken to indicate, like 'basilica', a church, may very probably point to the semi-regal condition of the powerful Earl Odda, who was a kind of sub-king in the days of his friend and relative, the Confessor. And if any one should arrive at the inference that it was Odda (himself buried, together with his brother Ælfric, at Pershore, although both died at Deerhurst) who first endowed Pershore Abbey with the large Deerhurst estates, I for one, in the absence of counter-evidence, should be far from denying the probability of such inference.

"It will be satisfactory to the public to be told that the Abbot's Court property is now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who may safely be credited, by anticipation, with taking proper steps for the preservation of this interesting relic of the past, which has so unexpectedly come to light.

"I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

"Deerhurst, Tewkesbury.

"G. BUTTERWORTH,
Vicar of Deerhurst."

"Since the above letter was written to *The Times* I have discovered (if it be not heresy to presume to say so) that Leland, whose guidance I implicitly followed, was mistaken in supposing that Deerhurst Manor ever formed part of the possessions of Pershore Abbey. The real state of the case appears to be the following. The Confessor bestowed upon Westminster the two separate manors of Deerhurst and Pershore. In

neither manor had Pershore Abbey any interest at any time, so far as is known. There is reason for thinking that although Edward ratified the great Latin charter of Westminster Abbey only a few days before his death, he may have actually given the manors to the Abbey some years earlier. This is partly inferred from the mention of the two manors in a couple of undated Saxon charters of Edward the Confessor.

"18 Dec. 1885.

G. BUTTERWORTH."

"To W. De Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec.

"Deerhurst, 10 Nov. 1885.

"DEAR SIR,—‘Abbot’s Court’, as it now stands, is a large, irregular farm-house built at sundry times. Its eastern portion is a fine, timbered erection of (I conclude) the sixteenth century. It communicates with the *centre* of the house, which is, in fact, the old chapel converted into apartments on the basement and on an upper floor. Then, also communicating with the central portion (the chapel) comes, on the west side, a third erection, more modern than the eastern portion, but still of a respectable age.

"The farm-house happens to be untenanted at present; hence our discovery. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners are making one farm of two, and their tenant, the farmer, will not in future inhabit Abbot’s Court. Abbot’s Court was put into the hands of a local builder (happily an excellent man, and a lover of the antique) for the purpose of ordinary repair, with a view, I imagine, of converting the building into a cottage or cottages. All that was known about the pile of building till three months ago, was that a portion of it was very old, for its walls were very thick. It had belonged to the Chapter of Westminster time out of mind. I had often looked upon the old walls, and fancied that in one place the plaster showed very faintly the appearance of a semicircle.

"One day the workman cut down a fruit-tree close to a large chimney-stack belonging to the sixteenth century portion, and I immediately discovered the inscribed stone which the fruit-tree had concealed. The builder was with me on the spot one day, and I called his attention to the appearance of the plaster 12 feet or so above the ground. He then and there procured a ladder and a workman, and opened out a circular-headed window which had a splay both inwards and outwards, but no ashlar-work. Then he and I looked at the so-called ‘pantry’ of the house, and noticed two large stones 6 or 7 feet apart, and several feet from the ground, which looked like imposts. Meanwhile plaster and whitewash, and features added at various times, concealed all besides. At last we discovered that our stones were massive imposts, and that beneath them were very solid ashlar-jambs, and above them an arch was turned, a little inclining to the horse-shoe shape. Unfortunately this fine arch has been cut in half about 1 foot above the impost; that is to say, we have lost one side of the arch from about the centre to 1 foot above that impost. The arch has been propped up. It was only by degrees that it became apparent that on one side of the arch was an ancient nave, on the other a chancel of a

small chapel. The walls of the building, the chapel (46 feet long outside) have been partially cleared, and I do not expect to come upon many more ancient traces. With the exception of one, the windows have all been altered. One blocked up entrance-doorway partly remains; there are traces of another.

"What will be done with the building, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have not informed me. What *should* be done, I think, is this,—to remove the floor above, so as to make an undivided space or hall, and to clear and point the walls; and if necessary, to repair the roof. Then it might be left to itself. On the one side a very commodious and picturesque cottage might be formed; and no doubt *that* will be done. All the buildings on the other side might, with very great advantage, come away. Such is the correct view of the local builder,—a man who stands high in public esteem,—Mr. Collins of Tewkesbury.

"All the above action occurred in the course of last August.

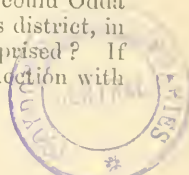
"I am indebted mainly to a friend for the 'restoration' of the inscription, and entirely to him for the explanation of its purport. The Odda inscription is among the Arundel Marbles in the Ashmolean Museum.

"The inscription-stone, as you will see, was cut up, *centuries ago*, to form, apparently, the head of a lancet-window!

"Owing to the curious transformation of the parts of the building, it was only by degrees that we arrived at the notion of a 'chapel'. At first it seemed to be an ancient dwelling-house with an upper floor, and a huge fire-place at one end. I try to give from memory the original appearance of the two imposths of the chancel-arch. They simply stood out, as I have tried to represent them, from the plaster, and by one of them there was (and is) a brick prop. It was difficult to dream of an arch above, and solid ashlar-jambs below; and at first we thought the old building ended at the chancel-arch, although we saw in an angle of what proves to be chancel an Early English bracket. (See plan.)

"The church and the chapel are curiously near each other: perhaps 100 yards, more or less, sever them. But, strange to say, they seem to have had an immediate connection with each other. The church was a portion of the early Benedictine Priory which in the Confessor's days became a dependency of St. Denis' Abbey. And the chapel, we imagine, formed a portion of a manor-house which also the Confessor made over, with the estates pertaining, to Westminster; the property being at the time ecclesiastical, and the possession of Pershore Abbey.

"Earl Odda was evidently a man of mark in Edward's days, whose relative he appears to have been. He is generally regarded as Earl of Devon, and in the *Saxon Chronicle* (Laud. MS.) he is stated to have been made Earl of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and Wales. I am not aware that in any other place, in either the *Saxon Chronicle* or Florence of Worcester, his government is given. Mr. Blunt, who, I suppose, was a painstaking man, says in his well compiled account of Tewkesbury Abbey, that Odda was Earl of Mercia. That, I think, cannot have been the case, as Leofric appears to have been Earl of Mercia from 1036 (or earlier) to 1057, when he died. But could Odda have been Earl of a *portion* of Mercia,—to wit, the Hwiccas district, in which both Gloucestershire and Worcestershire were comprised? If this were the case, it would bring Odda into natural connection with



Deerhurst and Pershore ; and then his rule over Devon would have to be denied in spite of the chronicler.

"The *chapel* was simply, I conceive, a sort of private chapel attached to the manor-house of the Abbot of Westminster. I suppose it would have had its resident priest, a very near neighbour to the monks of the Priory.

"Yours very truly,

"G. BUTTERWORTH."

"*P.S.*—Allow me to make a correction. That Odda was appointed Earl of Devon must, I think, be received as a fact ; but probably the appointment was held only for a short time, and was made when Earl Godwine and his powerful family were temporarily banished. On their return to the kingdom, Earl Odda may have retired to Gloucestershire, with which county, I presume, he had some early connection.

"Evidence is against the statement given above, as to the manor of Deerhurst having once belonged to Pershore Abbey. Leland, indeed, vouches for the fact ; but existing documents prove that on this particular point he was altogether wrong. To have erred in such company is, I trust, a pardonable offence.

"18 Dec. 1885.

G. BUTTERWORTH."

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator and Librarian*, testified to the very general interest felt at this discovery, which had attracted the notice of several societies.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, proposed (and it was carried unanimously) that the thanks of the Meeting should be conveyed to the Rev. G. Butterworth for his kind and opportune announcement of this discovery, in which he himself had so large a share, to the Association.

Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., forwarded through E. P. L. Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, a squeeze of an interesting piece of Saxon interlaced work at Moulton Church, Northamptonshire, which has been found under one of the piers of the south aisle arcade, the church being under restoration. It is doing duty as part of the foundation of the pier ; but it will be taken out by Mr. Law of Northampton, the architect, and carefully preserved. There are patterns on the face (now buried) ; and these, when exposed to view, will be noted by Sir Henry Dryden.

Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Peterborough, forwarded, through Mr. Brock, a considerable number of sketches of ancient sculpture and other antiquities, and with them the following explanatory notes :—

"1. Fragment of an engaged column covered with sculptured leaves, found used as old material in pulling down the central tower of Peterborough Cathedral. The site of the temple from which this fragment was derived may probably have been in the remains of the Roman city on the south side of the river Nen, between Water Newton and Alwal-

ton or Aldwalton. The mounds of its walls and ditch are still very considerable. Locally it is called 'The Castles.'

"2 and 3. Supposed to have been basins for containing water for pigeons and other birds in Roman gardens. The Water Newton Gravel-Pit, so famous for its discoveries of Roman remains, was garden-ground of the houses of the above city.

"4. Singular stone, of Roman date, found at Castor, at present in the garden of the farm-house (part of the old manor-house) at Upton, near Castor.

"5 and 6. Portion of shaft of a Saxon cross, now preserved in "Pega's Cell", the site of the Abbey of Peakirk (suppressed in King Edward the Confessor's time), and seemingly, therefore, of a date prior to the abolition of that monastery. The dragon on it may have referred to the dragon-standard of Wessex, then replacing the Danish raven of Cnut and his family.

"7. Fragment of Saxon carving found with a holy water stoup under the plaster flooring of a Saxon building lately discovered extending beneath the lantern-tower, south transept, and nave of Peterborough Abbey Church. Its sides were quite rough, and evidently not intended to be seen. This is now built up, for preservation, in the south-west pier of the rebuilt part, as nearly as could be effected to a point over the site of its discovery.

"8. Rough sketches of Saxon crosses placed at present outside the north wall of the nave of Elton Church, Northamptonshire.

"9. Saxon monumental slab found under the north arch of the lantern-tower of Peterborough Cathedral. When found it was resting on what had been the old grass-surface of the then churchyard of the Saxon Abbey, existing before the erection of the present church.

"10. Saxon cross found lately at Nassington Church. Nassington was the capital of the Ness of Peterborough (or the forest land), and gave its name to the hundred. This bears so singular a correspondence in design and subjects to that found at Aycliffe, near Darlington (engraved on p. 260, vol. iii, of the *Archæological Journal*), that it might almost be supposed to be by the same artist.

"11, 12, 13. Various views of the early Norman cross at Fletton Church, Huntingdonshire.

"14, 15. Sketches of the base or socket-stone of the churchyard-cross at Castor, near Peterborough. The ornamental work covering it is precisely similar to that on the well known stone called (but erroneously so) the tombstone of Abbot Hedda, at Peterborough, and is, no doubt, by the same carver. That portion at Peterborough was, as Mr. Bloxam has shown, part of a shrine, of which several other fragments, still retaining the marks of the fire which destroyed the Abbey church, in 1116, are now built up in the walls of the chancel of the church of Flet-

ton, across the river Nen; the whole being, in truth (as is this), of the Norman period.

"16. Sketch of the figure of a lion which prior to the late restoration of the church of Sutton (a chapelry of Castor parish) formed the termination to a stone bench along the south aisle wall, next to the south doorway; on the removal of which bench the stone was replaced at the west side of the block of wood seats, which now fit up to the walling.

"The singular openings seen through mouth, tail, and feet, seem intended to introduce rods into, leading to a suspicion that an earlier use had been to finish up the apex of some triangular gable, on which lines were drawn, and the projecting rods had served as gnomons to show the hours. Of these, there had been one directly forward, in the mouth; another passing transversely through (as one had done through the mass of tail on the back). Another had passed completely through the front paws; but into the hinder ones the openings extend but $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch inwards.

"Specimens of such lions are found elsewhere; one, probably from the gable of the north transept of Old Bath Cathedral, is now in the Museum of that city. It was found in the Market-Place, in front of which the transept stood. Another still remains, or did a few years ago, on the gable of the house of the Abbot of Bath, at Saltford; a third now stands in its original position, on the west gable of the church of Preston, in Somerset (which had also belonged to the monastic Chapter of Bath)."

Mr. Irvine also sent the following notes on Cattistock parish, Dorset, from the Register of the parish, 1558-1695, to about 1653:—

"Of the church goods whereof the churchwardens are lyable to give an account:—

"A chalice with a cover, a pewter bottle, a flagon of pewter, a tablecloth, a napkin, a pair of andirons, a ladder.—Memorandum, the chalice and cover were given to the parish of Cattstoke by the Lady Ann Pawlet of Chantmarle, and the old chalice converted into a plate at her Ladyship's own charge.

"Received of Thom. Burts for a seat in the pew belonging to the parsonage, by donation, 00. 09. 00. June 21, 1663.

"Collected in the parish of Catstocke towards the Brief for Fakenham, in the county of Norfolk, the summe of five shillings, fouer pence. Witness, R. Check, John Bradford, Richard Mayo.

"Collected towards the Brief of Fromington, county Devon, 4s. 3d., June 15, 1661; Ilminster, 10s., July 31, 1661; Southwold, Suffolk, 8s., Aug. 4, 1661; Elmley Castle, Worcestershire, 4s. 11d., Oct. 27, 1661; Condover, Salop, 3s. 6d., Nov. 3, 1661; Bridgenorth, Salop, 3s. 7d., Feby. 11, 1661; Bullingbrook, Lincolnshire, 3s. 6d., Feby. 25, 1661.

“‘Towards the collection for the Protestant churches in the Duke-dome of Lithuania, 2s. 3d., May 12, 1662; parish of St. Martin’s, 3s. 4d., Oct. 13, 1662; church at Gravesend, 2s. 10d., Nov. 2, 1662; Leyton or Clowford, Somerset, 2s. 5d., Nov. 2, 1662; Fordingbridge in Hampshire, 1s. 6d., Nov. 2, 1662; Tiverton, 3s. 6d., June 21, 1663; Hexham, 7s., Oct. 6, 1663; Burrow, Somerset, 3s., Oct. 6, 1663; Stepney and Shadwell, 3s. 6d., Jan. 24, 1663.

“‘Gathered for one Glanway of the Isle of Arran, 2s. 3d., Aug. 21, 1664; St. Michael’s, Somerset, 1s. 4d., Aug. 21, 1664; Cromer, Norfolk, 1s. 8d., Oct. 11, 1665; Lydney, Gloucestershire, 1s. 8d., Oct. 11, 1665; Basing and (place-name obliterated), 1s. 6d. each; Limington and Leigh, 6s.; Clun Church, Salop, 2s. 6d., Dec. 9; Chalbury, Oxon, 2s. 4d., July 3, 1666; Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 6s. 2d., Aug. 23, 1666.

“‘By me, Lancelot Welch, collected in the parish of Catstocke towards the relief of the poore suffering by fire at London, *one pound, three shillings, six pence*. So witness Rob. Cheeke, Rector.

“‘Rec’d the summe of Thos. Strode, the 20 day of October, by me, John Wynch, according to order therein taken by the Lord Mayor of the City of London, as is attested by the said John Wynch his Receipt returned in to Mr. Godwyn, Minister, of Bridport, Dec. 13, 1666.

“‘For Bishop Aust, Devon, and a place in Montgomeryshire, 2s. 6d., Feby. 1667; Fovant, for relief of slaves out of galley, 2s., June 11, 1669; Piddletown, 1s., June 11, 1669; Bicester, Oxon, 1s., Sept. 20, 1669; Thetford, 1s. 7d., Oct. 23, 1669; Isleham, Cambridge, 2s. 6d., May 22, 1670; Chast, Kent, 1s. 6d.; Oxford, 5s. 6d., Oct. 17, 1671; Horton or Heston, Middlesex, 1s. 6d., July 28, 1672; Fordingbridge, 10s., Oct. 3, 1672; sugar-bakers of London, 1s. 3d., July 15, 1673; St. Katharine’s Hospital, London, 3s., Nov. 2, 1673; Nether Wallop, Southampton, 1s. 10d.; captives at Galley, 6s.; Rowenden, Kent, 2s., Dec. 31, 1674; Rodbourn, Berks, 1s. 6d., Dec. 31, 1674.

“‘Given out of the church rate towards the rebuilding of the church of Newent in Gloucestershire, June 1, 1675:—Basingstoke, 1s. 6d., and Great Bedwin, Wilts, 1s., Feby. 1675.

“‘Given out of the parish stocke to the Brief for parish of Oswestrow in Salop, 1s.; Eaton, 2s. 6d.; Yetminster, 5s.’

“‘*Baptisms* from the Register of the parish of Cattistock, Dorset:—Penelope Stroode, daughter of Sir Richard Stroode and Elizabeth his wife, baptised 19 Jan. 1617; Ann Stroode, daughter of ditto, 22 April 1619; Katherine Stroode, daughter of ditto, 13 March 1628; Joan Stroode, daughter of John Stroode, Esq., and Ann his wife, of Chantmarle, 5 Dec. 1622; Snsan Stroode, daughter of Andrew Stroode and Elizabeth his wife, 13 June 1623; Mary Ann, daughter of ditto, 15 Jan. 1625; Andrew, son of ditto, 24 Jan. 1627.

“*Deaths.*—Richard Bishop, of Metford, died 31 Dec., buried 3 Jan. 1660. In that part of the churchyard extended over by the new aisle of the church, and carefully replaced under the floor of the seats, was a tombstone with the following inscription: ‘Here lyeth the body of Mary Bishop, the wife of Richard Bishop, of Metford, who died April 17, An’o D’ni 1678.’”

In 1395 Richard Metford was Bishop of Sarum. Metford, the present house, has been rebuilt, and nothing probably remains of the house which had belonged to the Bishops.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited two Greco-Roman terra-cotta lamps, and portion of a statuette group of figures reclining, found recently at Heliopolis, Egypt. Mr. Compton also read a paper on “The Church of St. Michael Coslany, Norwich”, which was illustrated with rubbings of brasses in the church. It is hoped that this paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Birch read a paper on “The Art of the Roman Mosaic Pavements at Bignor, near Chichester”, and exhibited a plan and several coloured facsimiles of the designs. Mr. Brock also exhibited a large number of facsimiles of the pavements from Lysons’ *Reliquiæ* and other works. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Wright expressed a hope that a subscription might be formed for the expenses of the reparation of the pavements, which he hoped would not be removed from the site.

WEDNESDAY, 2 DECEMBER 1885.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

W. H. Burton, Esq., Clifton Lodge, Bristol
Capt. R. Soames, Scaldwell, Northt.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

To the Author, for “Notes on the Church of St. Andrew, Norwich,” by F. R. Beecheno. 1883.

“ ” ” for “The Parish of Erith in Ancient and Modern Times,” by John Harris. 1885.

“ ” ” for “The History of Wargrave, Berks,” by Herbert J. Reid. 1885.

To the Society, for “The Archæological Journal,” xlii, No. 167. 1885.

“ ” ” for “Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire,” vol. xviii, Part III. November 1885.

“ ” ” for “Smithsonian Annual Report for the Year 1883.”

To the Society, for "Index to Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," vols. i-vii. By W. B. Arnison. 1885.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the Association viewed with great concern the reported deterioration in the Roman pavements at Bignor, recently visited by the Congress, and that the appointment of a committee to report on the present condition of these important national antiquities, with a view to suggestions for its preservation from further injury, was under consideration.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited articles found at Canterbury, Nov. 1885, in excavating for a gasometer,—1, Samian patera, $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter. Maker's name on the inside. The letters K R T scratched on the bottom. 2. A small urn of Upchurch ware, on which is the usual dotted pattern, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide. 3. Small urn, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide. 4. Small urn, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high by 3 ins. wide. 5. Roman lamp of yellow ware, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high by 3 ins. wide. 6. Fragment of a grey patera of rather an unusual type.

Mr. Brock exhibited, on behalf of Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., a sketch of an incised sepulchral slab of the twelfth century, from South Moulton Church, Northamptonshire. Mr. Brock also again exhibited a collection of drawings by Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Peterborough, principally of sculptured stone from Peterborough and the vicinity, to which attention was drawn at the preceding meeting. Mr. Brock also exhibited a hand-made cinerary urn (probably Saxon) of dark, ashy coloured pottery, and of almost spherical shape, found near the church at Brixworth. A rudely made cross is inscribed on the bottom of the object.



Mr. Brock further exhibited a remarkable equestrian figure about 15 ins. high, of Norman pottery, with thick green glaze, usually observable in pottery of that date. The ornamentation is made with

greenish yellow slip, and small pieces affixed to the surface. It was recently found in some excavations in Old Broad Street.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*; Mr. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A.; Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A.; and Mr. H. J. Reid, took part in the discussion which followed.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "The Funereal Stone inscribed with Greek Hexameter Verses, discovered at Brough-under-Stanemore, Westmoreland," by Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth, V.P., M.A., F.S.A. An illustration of the inscription was exhibited at the same time. In the discussion which followed on the reading, Mr. Birch, Mr. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., and the Chairman took part. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

The Chairman then read the following paper:

SUMMARY OF THE BRIGHTON CONGRESS.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER.*

Every county contributes its share to the general history of England, yet each has its special characteristics, and in most cases has passed through some phase peculiar to itself. Sussex is no exception to this rule. Possessing few harbours between Pevensey and Chichester, it has been somewhat isolated, in early times, from direct foreign intercourse; and a lofty ridge of downs bisecting it from east to west, separates the wooded country on the north, or the Weald, from the flat and fertile meadows which extend along the southern line between the hills and the sea.

The Grand Hotel, Brighton, was the headquarters of the Congress beginning on the 17th of August 1885. The municipality, though not among the oldest foundations, yet has duties now thrust upon it more arduous than fall to many of the older corporations. It has of late years had its full share of entertaining scientific and other societies. In our case, the Mayor of Brighton (Mr. E. J. Reeves) and his colleagues came forward to greet us with a cordial welcome, responded to, in the absence of our Noble President, the Duke of Norfolk, E.M., by Sir James Picton, F.S.A., who, in a comprehensive opening address, touched upon many passages of history connected with the county, and upon the origin of some of the place-names.

At the end of the week a *conversazione* was arranged for us by the Mayor, who received a large company with right regal hospitality in the magnificent rooms of the Pavilion; and among other amusements of the evening, Mr. Fred. E. Sawyer, F.S.A., gave a lecture on Sussex songs and music, with vocal illustrations by a small choir. He had, on the opening day, given us valuable information as to the early history of Brighton, in a learned paper on the subject.

If I venture upon a summary of the Congress transactions by devoting a few pages to emphasise some of the facts elicited during its progress, I do so by way of introduction to the papers we may hope to see in print by some of the many members, old and new, of the Association who attended the meeting.

Mr. Brock struck the key-note of the Congress in his essay on the peculiarities of Sussex churches; and his descriptions of them on the spot were usefully supplemented by several distinguished architects, as Mr. Blashill, Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam,¹ Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Mr. C. Lynam, and Sir James Picton.

Historical points brought forward in a neighbouring county, at the Dover Congress in 1883, receive fresh illustration from the remains visited in Sussex. Small village churches recall an early period of Christianity. The Saxon tower of Sompting, and the Saxon church of Worth, are links in the chain of that period extending from Roman times to the Danish occupation, and imperfectly supplied with documentary evidence. The Bishops of Selsey, after Wilfrith, exhibit an array of names only from Eadberht, in 709, to Æthelric II in 1058; but little is known of their history.² Gutheard, between 860 and 862, has left his signature; and in 1039 the name of Grimkill or Grimketel, as a Bishop, indirectly tells us of Danish influence. The two curious carvings in high relief, inserted in the wall of the Cathedral, are said to have come from the old church at Selsey, which is probable, though the evidences of this are somewhat inconclusive. The large churches of Sussex, by their successive alterations, and final enlargement in the reigns of King John and Henry III, furnish a striking illustration of the value of knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture in confirmation of historical events. I will refer to some of these as applied, firstly, to the notable men and events of the church; and secondly, as applied to the baronage.

The peculiarities of the highly decorated Norman, following the earlier, and then merging into a transitional style before it becomes the well known Early English, is nowhere seen to better advantage than in Sussex; and I would refer to the remarks of Mr. Brock on the church of New Shoreham and elsewhere, of Mr. Gordon M. Hills on the church of Steyning and the Cathedral of Chichester, and of Mr. C. Lynam when, describing the Priory Church of Boxgrove, he referred to "the subtleties of chronological sequence", and pointed out in the

¹ Though not an architect by profession, his work on Gothic architecture, which has gone through eight or more editions, would of itself entitle him to be ranked among them.

² Their portraits, on a wooden screen in Chichester Cathedral, are of the date of Bishop Sherborne (1505-36), who had portraits on panel, in similar style, to adorn his house at Amberley. The artist is said to have been Theodore Bernardi, an Italian artist settled at Chichester at this time.

great piers of the tower four periods,—1st, the earliest, rude, semicircular arches of the aisles; 2ndly, the transitional Norman; 3rdly, the later transitional Norman; 4thly, the western responds of the lancet-choir.

As to the dates and names connected with the building of Chichester Cathedral, when the see had been removed here from Selsey, after the Council of London in 1075, it appears that a monastery then existed on the site, dedicated to St. Peter. Stigand, the first Bishop of Chichester, showed his independent spirit, and dislike to the foreign tendencies of Archbishop Lanfranc, by declining to consecrate the Abbot of Battle elect unless he went to Chichester for the purpose. This Abbot had been the monk Gausbert, from the Abbey of Mar-montier, on the Loire. Stigand had to submit, however, to *force majeure*.

The earliest portions of the building may date back to these times; but the reputed builder of the Cathedral is Ralph Luffa, who is said to have accomplished this work in 1091; Stigand's building having been recast, after injury by fire, in 1114; and after another fire it was rededicated by Seffrid II in 1199. Ralph Neville, who occupied the see from 1224 to 1244, appears to have introduced the Gothic style of building, following, as did his bishopric, the troublous times and quarrels between the late Bishop and the Abbot of Battle as to the right of the former to appoint an abbot to the monastery.

The Rev. W. R. W. Stephens informs us that "to Ralph's time belong most of the side-chapels. One of them is expressly said to have been his gift to the Cathedral. They were, in fact, most of them chantry-chapels; and were originally divided by partition-walls, each being complete with its altar, piscina, and credence-table. After the suppression of chantries, the partitions were removed; and the whole set of chapels on either side being thrown together, present the appearance of additional aisles to the nave; so that the Cathedral is often, though incorrectly, said to have double side-aisles."¹ This Bishop Ralph, Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, seems to have been a great builder, as his own magnificent house in the New Street, London, testified. The street became afterwards known as "the Chancellor's Lane", and hence Chancery Lane. He also added the chancel to the chapel of his residence, Amberley Castle, which we visited.

Three stone coffin-slabs at the entrance of the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral are generally taken to be those of the founders; but Mr. Matthew Bloxam has shown that all three are misappropriated. One on the north side, inscribed "Radulphus Epis.", has been assigned to

¹ *Memorials of the South-Saxon See and Cathedral Church of Chichester*, by the Rev. W. R. W. Stephens. 1876.

Ralph Luffa, who died in 1123; but which Mr. Bloxam would rather ascribe to Ralph de Warham, who died in 1222. On the south side, the two slabs under a later canopy are assigned to Bishop Hilary, who died in 1169, and to Seffrid II, who died in 1204; but he thinks them both of later date. The slab in the north aisle is incised, and Mr. Bloxam knows of no incised slab earlier than the thirteenth century.

The reputation of all preceding benefactors to the church was cast into the shade by the fame of St. Richard of Chichester, which almost equalled that of St. Thomas in a neighbouring county. His life, by Ralph Bocking, is contained in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Richard of Wych (so named from Droitwich, the place of his birth) was elected to the see of Chichester by Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, who cancelled the election of Robert Passelew, which had been carried by the canons of Chichester. A Dominican friar, and unwearied in the duties of his diocese, Richard thoroughly upheld the discipline and administration of the Church, and undertook in 1253 to preach on behalf of a crusade, though he could not persuade the King, Henry III, to fulfil his promise of taking the cross.

The good Bishop died in 1253, and was canonised in 1262; and on June 16th, 1276, "the translation of St. Richard's remains from the lowly tomb to the elevated shrine was celebrated by the Primate, Kilwardy, assisted by several Bishops, with great pomp, in the presence of King Edward and a vast and rejoicing multitude. It was a favourite resort of pilgrims from all parts of southern England; and his day, April 3, still retains its place in the calendar prefixed to our Prayer Book."

The bare mention of the names of the churches visited will be enough to recall the interesting references given on the spot both to their architecture and history. First, I will name St. Nicholas, Brighton, the old parish church, and its more ancient font, described by the Vicar; Sompting, the tower of which, according to Mr. Brock, is "unique and invaluable in relation to Saxon art"; Broadwater, the old parish church of Worthing before the latter became a modern watering-place; Findon, much restored; Clapham, as to which Sir Gilbert Scott's description may be referred to; West Tarring, whose late Rector, Dr. Warter, married a daughter of the poet Southey, and wrote a history of the antiquities of the neighbourhood. Its stone spire is remarkable, as few of these exist in the county, the example of Chichester not having been much followed. New Shoreham, one of the most interesting, as showing the four styles extending up to the Early English, and as not being conventual, which Mr. Brock pointed out, but a parish church for the growing population. Old Shoreham, in the walls of which some old Saxon masonry was examined, apparently for the first time, and the well known Norman doorway;

Bramber, originally cruciform, with some curiously carved capitals; Steyning, with its elaborate Norman mouldings, and showing portions of an earlier church; Edburton,—the Vicar, the Rev. F. Gell, described himself as the twenty-seventh incumbent; and the church of Eadburg's town as named after that saintly lady. The nave and porch are as early as King John, the chantry on the north side being of the date of 1319. Poynings has features like those of Alfriston. Pyecombe.—Of this church no description was given.

The Fitz-Alan Chapel, to the east of the parish church of Arundel, into which it once had an entrance, appears to have been used by the Secular Canons planted here by Richard, third Earl of his family; some stalls of the Canons remaining in the Chapel, and a portion of the conventual buildings and cloisters outside.

The Chapel served as a mausoleum for the powerful family of Fitz-Alan, who, with some interruptions, held the Castle and barony for three hundred years. Its present appearance is that of a deserted mausoleum, a ghastly relic of civil strife; but the tombs, though sadly battered, are still beautiful specimens of mediæval architecture; and the edifice will, doubtless, be rescued from further dilapidation by the restoring hand of the present liberal Duke. The earliest of the monuments is an altar-tomb in the centre of the nave, on which are two recumbent figures of Thomas Fitz-Alan, who died in 1415, and of Beatrice his wife, a daughter of John King of Portugal. There is another tomb, of John Fitz-Alan, with his figure in plate-armour, the seventeenth Earl, who died in 1434. South of the altar is the fine chantry-tomb of William, nineteenth Earl, who died in 1488, and of the Countess; but the effigies belonging to it lie on the tomb opposite, where are those of Thomas, who died in 1524, and William in 1544. Above Earl William's chantry is a tablet to the memory of Henry, the last of the Fitz-Alans, Earls of Arundel, who died in 1580. Many of the Howards are also buried here; Philip and Thomas, the latter having died in 1646. He was the friend of Evelyn, and collector of the Arundelian marbles.

The interesting points of the parish church of Arundel were referred to by Mr. Gordon M. Hills in his description of the building. The pulpit, cut out of one of the piers of stone, and its peculiar construction, were remarked upon, as well as two paintings on the walls.

At Amberley, adjoining the Bishop's Palace, and close to the walls of the Castle, the old church has some interesting characteristics. Portions of the walling belong to an earlier building, which was shown by Mr. Brock. The Rector, the Rev. E. G. A. Clarkson, here received the party with hospitality in his quaint old rectory-house.

Preston Church.—The wall-paintings, of the time of Henry III, commanded much attention, especially that of the murder of Thomas

à Becket; as did also those at Patcham Church, representing the Judgment Day. The wall-paintings in Preston Church show how great was the impression caused by the murder of the Archbishop; how it increased the respect for the clergy, while it depressed in the same proportion the reputation of the barons. King John, son of the Henry II who had to do penance for his supposed connivance at the murder, had a part to play between the parties of no small difficulty. We had reference to passages in King John's history at Dover; and Mr. J. H. Round reminded us of his embarkation at Shoreham, when speaking of that King's putting up for a night at the Barbican of Bramber Castle.

The great activity of King John is shown in his *Itinerary*, and disproves Hume's assertion that he was a slothful and inactive Prince. What that historian says of him, on the authority of Matthew Paris, that after ratifying Magna Carta "he grew sullen, silent, and reserved; he shunned the society of his courtiers and nobles, and retired into the Isle of Wight, as if desirous of hiding his shame and confusion", is also disproved by the *Itinerary*, on the authority of Sir J. D. Hardy. I will extract some of the dates and entries which concern Sussex.

In the first year of his reign, 1199, on 28 June, King John was embarking at Shoreham for France. He was at Knepp Castle, near East Grinstead, in 1206, on 8 April; and at the same place in 1209, on 6 January and 1 June; in 1211, on 8th and 9th April; in 1215, on 21-24 Jan. And the following extracts from the same document show that he neither shunned society nor retired into the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 1215, a° 16.—"*Teste* 25 January, at Stanstead. The King to the Sheriff of Sussex, etc. We order you to pay to Simon Eynulf 30s. for one tun of wine, which was drunk at our house at Aldingbourn on Sunday the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (25 Jan.)."

"*Teste* 29 Jan., at Winchester.—Allow on account to Robert Bluet, £11 : 4 : 4, which he laid out in the expenses of our household at Knepp Castle on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday next before the Conversion of St. Paul (21, 23, and 24 Jany.)."

"*Teste* 10 Sept., at Sonning.—Know that we received in our chamber at Sonning, on Friday, the morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary (9 Sept.), in the eighteenth year of our reign, 240 marks for the ransom of William de Albany." This nobleman had been captured by King John after the siege of Rochester Castle, which William de Albany, at the head of one hundred and forty knights, with their retainers, had obstinately defended. King John was also, as appears by the same document, at Stanstead on 30 Jan. 1214, and on 26th and 27th Jan. 1215.

A word or two shall now be said of some of the castles in Sussex. The whole county is divided into six "rapes", and each of these into so

many hundreds.¹ Three "rapes" in East Sussex will not come under this survey; but the three in West Sussex, that is, Bramber, Arundel, and Chichester, were visited during the week. The word "rape", for a province, is derived, according to Mr. F. E. Sawyer, F.S.A., in his lecture at Brighton on the opening day, from the Danish *hrepr*, a word of similar meaning; and this carries us back to times when many castles were erected on elevations or conical mounds, and probably followed others previously existing from as far back even as Roman times on the same sites.

One of the small castles, though with its double fosse, is that of Sedgwick, two miles and a half east of Horsham, described by the Rev. Edward Turner in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*;² and it is noticed here, though not visited, because it belonged for many centuries to a family of the name of Salvagius, or the Savage; and they were the early lords of Broadwater, and appear to have had considerable possessions in the Rape of Bramber. Robert le Savage is described in the *Testa de Neville* as possessing four knights' fees in Broadwater. He was selected by the guardian of William de Braose, during his minority, under an order of Henry III, as Custos of the Castles of Bramber, Knepp, and Pevensey, which were supposed to be placed in jeopardy by the breaking out of a war with France. He had also the charge of the honour of Knepp and Bramber, belonging to John de Braose. The manor and Castle of Sedgwick continued in the family of Le Savage till the year 1272, when John le Savage exchanged them with William de Braose for other lands held under the honour of Bramber; and this exchange was subsequently confirmed by his son, Robert le Savage.

The Castle of Bramber itself, visited on the Thursday, was placed upon a double mound. The inner, which is conical, and apparently in a great measure artificial, was once surmounted by a castle which no longer exists. The outer mound, the ascent to which is by the side of Bramber Church, presents the remains of a barbican tower of considerable elevation. A wall and ramparts surround the whole. Of the buildings which may have existed within the vast *enceinte* nothing is known, but their base-plan could probably be ascertained by excavating. The Castle was commented on by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., and Mr. J. H. Round. The former, in company of his brother, Dr. Bloxam, was here greeted by a large number of old friends, glad of this opportunity of hearing the remarks upon these ancient British earthworks from so experienced an antiquary.

¹ William Smith, *Rouge Dragon*, who died in 1618, left a book in manuscript, with coloured illustrations (now in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 2596), which was in good esteem. He mentions eighteen market-towns and three hundred and twelve parish churches as existing in Sussex in his time.

² Vol. viii. p. 31.

An attractive day was Friday, to be devoted to Arundel Castle. A short run by railway brought us in sight of its noble pile standing out from the woodland scenery which surrounds it, and high above the Arun river which flows at its foot. The river was crossed by a bridge said to have been built of the stones of a ruined building on the right hand, once the Maison Dieu and its chapel, founded by Richard Fitzalan, the third Earl.

Mounting the hill, we enter the Castle gate. Within the first portal, which is modern, stands the old gate-house with all its arrangements for portcullis and other defences, and flanked on each side by an octagonal tower.¹ Passing the gate-house we enter the great courtyard or ballium of the fortress. Sad havoc was made with the building, in the time of Charles I, by the fire of the Parliamentary army under Sir William Waller, 1643-4, who destroyed the fine hall, of which one gateway only remains, and otherwise battered the buildings by two pieces of artillery placed on the neighbouring church tower; at which time the Fitzalan Chapel was made to contain the prisoners captured from the Castle during the siege.

The restoration begun by former Dukes of Norfolk has been proceeded with on a costly scale by the present Duke. Through his kind permission we were conducted over every habitable part of the building. Entering by the noble hall and staircase, reception-rooms filled with many interesting family and historical pictures, a long gallery enriched with cabinets and works of art, and the magnificent library lined with polished wood, and bookcases of the same, were all shown us, with explanations, by Mr. Mostyn, the representative of the Duke. Archaeologically, the most interesting part of the Castle is the old keep, placed on the southern extremity of a hill on which an oblong space is enclosed by a wall 950 feet long by an average of 250 feet in breadth, containing about $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground. The perpendicular height of this mount, on the external side, was 76 feet from the bottom of the fosse. On the inner side it was 69. The thickness of the wall is from 8 to 10 feet; and the circular space enclosed has a diameter, in one direction of 59, and in another of 67 feet. We mount the circular ramparts of this keep, and from hence is a fine view over the surrounding country, Chichester spire being visible towards the west.

As to the origin of this ancient fort, we are led in memory to its early possessors, and to the spreading branches of its present noble occupants. It is not mentioned before the *Domesday Survey*, for by the earliest copy of the will of King Alfred, still extant, Aldingburn,

¹ Richard Fitzalan, third Earl, in 1295 obtained a patent authorising him to strengthen the defences of the Castle, which he did; and his grandson, Richard, built the hall. The exterior of this building was drawn by Hollar in 1642, before the siege.

Compton,¹ Crundele (*not* Arundel), Headingham, and Burnham are left to Athelm, the King's brother's son; and the authority of this MS. can hardly be set aside on the assumption that an error has been made in the text.¹ The letter C is very clear. The Rapes of Chichester and Arundel were in after times marked out to form the honour of Arundel, calculated to contain eighty-four and a half knights' fees, or 57,460 acres, comprising eighteen parks and seventy-seven manors. We find it in the hands of the Crown, *temp.* Henry I, that King having settled it on his second wife, Adeliza or Alicia, daughter of Godfrey of Lorraine, who by a subsequent marriage conveyed it to William de Albini, lord of Buckenham in Norfolk.² Hugh, the last of the Albinis, dying without issue in 1243, left four sisters, his coheirs. Isabel, the second of these, had the honour of Arundel, which passed to her son, John Fitzalan, by patent, 28th Henry III, and remained in that family till Hugh, the last male heir, dying without male issue in 1580, left two daughters, his coheirs,—Joan, who married Lord Lumley; and Mary, who married Thomas Duke of Norfolk, in whose family the greater part of the manor of Arundel still remains, though some was alienated through Lord Lumley, whose portion included the ancient manor of Stanstead and the Forest of Arundel. Sir W. Waller, in 1644, sent a large force of two thousand horse and foot and two drakes to besiege Lord Lumley's house. The house was afterwards rebuilt about 1687.³ The succession of the Dukes, as well as a particular account of the great Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, has been given by Mr. Stephen I. Tucker, Somerset Herald, "Descent of the Manor of Sheffield" (*Journal*, vol. xxx, p. 237).

A charming ride through Arundel Park leads up to Bury Hill, the site of an ancient entrenched camp. From this elevation a good view is obtained over the valley to Amberley, and towards the gap in the downs through which the river runs to the sea. A sudden halt is made at a large field called "The Bury", not far from Bignor Church, surrounded by other fields yellow with ripening corn. A large party was here assembled to meet Mr. C. Roach Smith, V.P., F.S.A., who described the mosaic pavements we had come to see, which are carefully covered in by substantial buildings, and remain much in the same state as when Mr. Samuel Lysons in 1815 wrote his account of them. Mr. Roach Smith remarked upon the great size of some of the

¹ See Alfred's will in *Cartul. Saxon.*, ii, p. 178, by W. de G. Birch, F.S.A.

² See *History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, by the Rev. M. A. Tierney, F.S.A., 1834; and the Fitzalan MSS. *apud* Burrell, 5687; and *History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, by James Dallaway, Prebendary of Nova Ecclesia, and Rector of Slynfold, 2 vols., 1815.

³ *Castles, Mansions, and Manors of Western Sussex*, by Dudley Geo. Carey Elwes, F.S.A. 1876.

villas, such as this and others at Woodehester and elsewhere, which he considered must have been official residences for the *procuratores* or other officers, collectors of the revenue, rather than the houses of private individuals, and he compared this villa with several foreign examples.

One of the most interesting designs on these various portions of pavements is an oblong panel, 13 ft. 7 ins. long, and 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, in which gladiators, *retiarii* and *secutores*, are depicted. They are full of life, though the figures being winged show the picture to be rather emblematic than a real representation of a combat which possibly is only meant for the shadow of the institution falling into desuetude under the progressive advance of Christianity. Lysons called them Cupids or Genii. Still the four scenes give a vivid idea of the fight. In the first they are preparing; in another, just engaged in it; in a third, the *retiarius* is wounded; and in the last he is fallen, disarmed, and wounded in the thigh.

It is to be hoped that these pavements will be preserved *in situ*, if possible. The care of Mr. Tupper, the proprietor of the land, has hitherto preserved them; but will his successors in the future sufficiently appreciate their merits as a national monument, to be at the expense of retaining and guarding them? The interest in these pavements, which now required reparation, would certainly be diminished by their removal from the spot where they were originally laid down by the Romans.

I will make one remark on the letters IR, as I read them, on one side of a much injured mosaic. They do not seem to me capable of being read as ER, or by a combination in the first letter, TER. If read from right to left, they might, perhaps, be a portion of the name Ariadne spread over the other three sides of a square,—thus, EN-DA-IR-A. But whether this is so or not (for it is only conjectural), it seems more than probable that the head in another room, surrounded with blue *nimbus*, ascribed by Lysons to Juno or Venns, should rather be considered the head of Ariadne. She was deified, and placed as a constellation in the skies, where the same cluster of stars still shines in our northern hemisphere under the name of Ariadne's Crown; and the fact that Bacchus was portrayed in the mosaic at Avenches (which Lysons says so much resembles this at Bignor) seems to confirm the supposition, for the goddess would be intimately associated with the emblems of Bacchus seen here; and other attributes are not inappropriate, as the pheasants, natives of her part of the world, and the floral decorations. Comparing the two, Lysons observes that "the pavement at Avenches has figures of Bacchantes, in octagonal compartments, exactly in the same style, and with the same defect of the lower extremities being too short, as they appear in the Bignor pave-

ment; and a blue *nimbus* round the head of Bacchus, as it here appears round that of Venus, which is supposed to be peculiar to these two pavements."

This extensive villa lies near the old Roman road running from Chichester to Dorking, and thence to London. The name Cold Harbour, in the vicinity of Bignor, proclaims its vicinity to a Roman station, and the same name is found a few miles south of Dorking.

Interest in Roman remains¹ did not seem to slacken, and Mr. C. Roach Smith was listened to with much attention when describing the antiquities in the Museum of Chichester, which comprised Roman glass and other sepulchral remains found in various parts of the county, and two inscribed stones found in South Street, Chichester, in 1833, which have been figured in vol. ii of the *Journal*, p. 85.

The famous stone at Goodwood, dug up in Chichester in 1723, was also inspected and commented on by Mr. C. R. Smith and Dr. Birch, F.S.A., Head of the Department of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. The first account of this stone and its inscription was given by Gale in vol. xxxii, p. 391, of *The Philosophical Transactions*, 1723. The inscription on this stone does not prove that Chichester was the capital or headquarters of the British chieftain Cogidunus, a faithful ally of the Romans. He would scarcely have been allowed to occupy an important Roman city such as Chichester; but Cissbury Hill, a very strong and capacious fort, rising out of the plain country, and well guarded all round by a belt of Roman forts, between Pevensey and Chichester, would be a more likely centre for this client of Claudius. This seems to have been Mr. Gordon M. Hills' opinion when he proposed Cissbury Hill as the starting-point of the seventh *iter* of Antoninus, as there is no other authority whatever for a town called Regnum. Yet this Romano-British chieftain, Cogidunus, may well have put up a dedication-stone to the two Roman divinities, Neptune and Hercules, in the locality most appropriate to them. The observations of Mr. C. Roach Smith seemed to tend rather in this direction.

It will be convenient at this period to break off the narrative by paying a visit to the Brighton Museum and Library, where many objects are combined to connect the various subjects of our excursion together in chronological order.

¹ Acting upon the suggestion of Mr. C. Roach Smith, who appears to have had a prophet-like belief in the Roman origin of the walls of the city, some excavations were made by a local builder, on behalf of the Association, on a spot chosen by Mr. Gordon Hills, who described the result of the digging to the Congress. The result has very amply repaid the outlay. The visitors found, on their inspection, that the base of the well known mediæval walls was actually formed by a portion of the ancient Roman work of the former walls which had been replaced by the existing ones. This most remarkable discovery will be duly noted, doubtless, in the official report in our *Journal*.

In the Library, which is daily open to the public, free of all difficulty in obtaining admission, is a fine collection of standard works, and among them is the large series of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, which extend to nearly forty volumes, and being furnished with a copious index can now be freely consulted. Every attention was here paid us by Mr. Henry Willett, F.G.S., and by Mr. B. Lomax, Curator of the Museum, who both pointed out and described the objects most interesting to us.

In the other rooms on the basement is a collection of Roman remains found at Seaford, Preston, Portslade, Lewes Road, and other places in the vicinity. There is a hoard of Roman imperial coins found near Eastbourne in 1879, and presented to the Museum by the Duke of Devonshire. They extend from P. Lucius Valerianus to Tetricus, ranging over twenty years, from A.D. 253 to 273. Here is also preserved a beautiful amber cup and hard stone axe, found, together with other remains, in digging at Palmyra Square, Brighton. They are supposed to be of the Saxon period, and the cup is unique.

The Roman remains in the Brighton Museum and those at Chichester, described by Mr. C. Roach Smith, as well as those preserved in the Museum at Lewes Castle, pretty well establish the dominion of the Romans throughout Sussex.

Proceeding to the forts and earthworks, which will be described elsewhere, I may just say that Cissbury Camp, visited on Wednesday, was then described by Mr. W. C. Myers, F.S.A., who gave an account of the manner in which arrow-heads and other weapons, and tools of flint were made in the pits within this fort, which has been called the Sheffield of antiquity. Cissbury had also been brought to our notice on the first evening meeting, in a paper by Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A. The area included in it is unusually large, and the approach from the north very steep. This certainly is the most interesting earthwork seen at this Congress;¹ and the next, perhaps, is that at Wolstanbury, visited on the last day, and approached by a perfectly straight and paved road between two hedges, which savours of great antiquity. Hollingbury Camp, visited the same day, is one of great regularity, and is described elsewhere.

Not far from this, on the crest of the down, is "The Copse", a name given by the proprietor to his house there, constructed of timber, yet possessing all the comforts and adornments of the present age. Dr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps may be likened to a British chieftain in his eagle's nest near the skies; but by a more appropriate simile he should be spoken of rather as Pliny in his Laurentine villa, surrounded by

¹ Mr. Joseph Stevens has described it in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xxiv, p. 145.

books, and secure from intrusion in his study, overlooking the distant ocean. This early member and Vice-President of the Society invited the whole party up to participate in his hospitality, and an elegant luncheon was not a little acceptable after the keen air of the downs. A more abiding feast was prepared for us in the study before referred to, where some of the gems of the Shakespearean collection were exhibited under glass cases, and described in a printed form, as a memorial given to each visitor. These could only be mere specimens out of the large number of engravings, documents, and contemporary printed works connected with Shakespeare and his times, which this unwearied searcher after the surroundings of our great poet has brought together during a long series of years, in which he has searched the municipal records of no less than seventy different towns for contemporary evidence of his *Outlines of the Life*, etc. The portrait of the poet, from an early impression of the print shown to us from the first folio edition of 1623, may be called the only authentic contemporary likeness of Shakespeare. The print in the second edition was made after the plate had been worn, and then touched up by lines and dots, producing a different expression in the face; and by comparing the two, which were here brought together, the alteration is at once seen, and the first can be appreciated accordingly. Without specially referring to the many works described in the Catalogue, I will notice one which much struck me as an unanswerable evidence of the effect produced at the time on the popular mind by one of Shakespeare's historical plays: "Notice of the performance of the First Part of *Henry VI*, from Nash's *Pierce Penilesse* (1592),—'How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyne two hundred yeares in his tombe, hee should triumphe againe on the stage, and have his bones newe embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least, at severall times, who in the tragedian that represents his person imagine they behold him fresh bleeding!'"¹

This cell of the student has not been shut up from the world of letters. Literary men from all England as well as from America have found a welcome here, and been glad to associate with an author who in his time has sent to press over three hundred publications, and yet has been a model of kindness to his friends.

Before leaving the house, and expressing our sincere thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Phillipps, which was done in eloquent terms by Mr. C. Roach Smith, for the kind and graceful manner in which we had been entertained, a word may be said of a considerable piece of water

¹ Quoted in *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A. 3rd edition; London, 1883. The *Pierce Penilesse*, printed in 1592, is in Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps' collection, of priceless rarity. There are later editions of less value.

conveyed up to this high level by the Brighton Water-Works, which may be called a mere or lake. It is a marvel of engineering skill; and the copse or wood adjoining the house abounds in water-plants which grow on the borders of a murmuring stream flowing down over boulders of rock, all fed artificially from the same source. We have heard much of the difficulty of water-supply on the downs; but at their foot the watershed is apparently unlimited, and the old names of Stanmere and Falmere, as also the Welesmere of *Domesday*, referred to by Mr. F. E. Sawyer in his discourse about Brighton on the opening day, will account for the great extension of the town of Brighton, with its unlimited water-supply, and which could not have existed without it. Pool Lane, a street down by Brill's Baths, recalls a pool from a stream discharging itself here, which came down the valley in the middle of the Old Steyne.

A large collection of original water-colour drawings by local artists had been collected in the Museum for our inspection by the Local Committee. They represented the most remarkable buildings and places in Sussex; both those we had visited, which were thus recalled to memory, and those we had not seen. These, together with the rubbings of brasses, chiefly from Sussex churches, which were arranged in a room at the Pavilion, recalled, among others, three mediæval castles of somewhat exceptional celebrity, which shall be named as being good examples of three periods: Bodiham, erected at the end of the fourteenth century by Sir John Dalyngrudge, one of the heroes of Crecy and Poitiers; Hurstmonceaux, erected in the middle of the fifteenth century by Sir Roger de Fienes, who had accompanied Henry V to Agincourt; and Cowdray, built by William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, who died without issue in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII, and the estate passed to Sir Anthony Browne and the Montagues. The Castle, much ruined by a fire in 1793, is a good specimen of the style of the middle of the sixteenth century.

I must now terminate this summary, though not without mentioning some papers read in the evenings at the Pavilion: one by Dr. S. Birch, F.S.A., on the British gold coinage of Sussex,¹ which illustrates and confirms, from the latest discoveries, the earliest history of the native chiefs before even Roman times, and serves to throw a little light, perhaps, upon those village communities, with their land and pasturage holdings, which were shadowed forth by Mr. F. E. Sawyer in his paper upon early Brighthelm's Stone. Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, on some of the Anglo-Saxon charters of the seventh and eighth centuries, relating to Sussex, illustrates that interesting period by contemporary documents; and this was followed

¹ Mr. Ernest H. Willett, F.S.A., has written upon the same subject in vols. xxix and xxx of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

up by Mr. Richard Sims, also of the British Museum, who detailed the existing cartularies of religious houses in Sussex, and pointed out where the originals may be consulted.

The Congress has been highly suggestive of historical subjects which are capable of elucidation, and was brought to a close in the room of the Pavilion so kindly placed at our disposal by the Mayor and Corporation, by votes of thanks to them and to those who had helped us throughout the week, and especially to the Local Committee and to the Honorary Local Congress Secretary, Mr. Henry Griffith, F.S.A., as well as to our experienced Congress Secretary and Librarian, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., assisted by his indefatigable son, Mr. Wright, Jun.; and to Mr. John Reynolds, who has again given his whole attention to the details of locomotive arrangements conducive to the accommodation of a very large party.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Horman-Fisher, and carried unanimously.

Obituary.

THE death of Mr. SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., Keeper of the Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum, which took place, after a short illness, at noon on Sunday the 27th of December 1885, at his residence, 64 Caversham Road, N.W., has deprived the Association of an illustrious Honorary Corresponding Member.

Dr. Birch, who had just completed his seventy-second year, was, as we gather from *The Times*, the grandson of Samuel Birch, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London, and eldest son of the late Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth in the City of London, and Vicar of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire. In 1834 Dr. Birch entered the service of the Crown, under the Commissioners of Public Records, where he was the contemporary of the late Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. In January 1836 he received an appointment under the Trustees of the British Museum, in whose service he has spent just fifty years. On the retirement of Mr. Barnwell he became Assistant Keeper of the Department of Antiquities,—a miscellaneous mass at that time, including the whole range of Greek, Roman, British, Oriental, and Egyptian archæology, as well as ancient and mediæval numismatics and ethnography. In 1861, on the subdivision of this vast and valuable collection, Dr. Birch was elevated to the responsible position of Keeper of the Oriental, British, and Mediæval Sections. At a subsequent

period of further division his attention was confined solely to the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities, with which his name will always be associated.

At a very early period of his life he had studied the Chinese language, and made himself proficient in it; and his first important duty at the British Museum was to arrange and make a catalogue of Chinese coins. At this time he wrote on "Chinese Monkeys" in the *Magazine of Natural History*, and in 1841 he published a volume of Chinese selections under the title of "Analecta Sinensia." A few years later he produced a translation of the Chinese work, "Friends till Death"; the "Elfin Foxes" in 1863, with a criticism on this Chinese legend; and in 1872, "The Chinese Widow", a tale of Chinese manners and Customs; and "The Casket of Gems", illustrative of Chinese everyday life, were published by Dr. Birch in *The Phoenix*, a periodical mainly devoted to the literature of the Celestial Empire. Besides Chinese numismatics, Dr. Birch carefully studied the coinage of the ancient Britons; and this resulted, in the year 1845, in the recovery of the royal name of Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobelin, from a few abbreviated legends on the coins of the latter, which had up to that time been unexplained. His paper on "Ancient British Coinage", read at our Brighton Congress during the past summer, shows that he had maintained his studies on this important branch of archæology.

In 1846 Dr. Birch was despatched on a mission to Italy, by direction of the Trustees of the British Museum, to examine and report upon the extensive and valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities which had been gathered by the late Signor Anastasi, and was at that time deposited at Leghorn, and to visit the archæological Museums of Rome and the other cities of the Italian peninsula. In 1856 he was again sent to Rome by the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine and appraise the celebrated Campana collection of classical antiquities, which was at that time offered to the Museum for purchase. At a later period, the abstraction of some valuable antiquities from his department led to a third mission abroad, which happily resulted in the recovery of the missing objects.

One of the chief events in his life was the foundation of the Society of Biblical Archæology in 1870, in conjunction with the late Mr. W. R. Cooper, of which Dr. Birch became the President. Another was his successful conduct of the London Congress of Orientalists in 1874, of which he was President.

In 1839 Dr. Birch was elected Corresponding Member of the Archæological Institute of Rome; in 1851, of the Berlin Academy; in 1852, of that of Herculaneum; and in 1861, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of the French Institute. In 1862 the University of St. Andrews conferred on Dr. Birch the honorary degree

of LL.D. In 1875 he was honoured with the degree of LL.P. of the University of Cambridge, he being appointed Rede Lecturer for the following year, when he expounded a general synopsis of the "Monumental History of Egypt" before the Senate. At Oxford, the degree of D.C.L. was bestowed on him in 1876, following upon his election to an Honorary Fellowship of Queen's College in the previous year. Several foreign orders and other diplomas of foreign societies were also bestowed upon him.

High as was the position attained by the learned scholar who has just passed away, in many branches of antiquarian learning, it is in the special domain of Egyptology that Dr. Birch's reputation is mainly established. Entering upon the critical examination of Egyptian antiquities at a period long before the time when collections were vitiated by the presence of impudent Arab forgeries, now easily palmed off upon the vanity or ignorance of travellers, Dr. Birch's eye was trained only on pure and genuine specimens of ancient Egyptian fine arts: hence his facile detection of spurious antiquities; and this, sometimes, to the chagrin of disappointed owners. His lucid and comprehensive system of arrangement of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, in spite of the very limited space in which, until quite recently, they were comprised, enabled students to consult, and compare at will, any objects among the many thousands which make up the collections. Nor did he neglect the Egyptian language and philology. The crude and imperfect knowledge of the language which philologists had with difficulty, and in a great measure with error, managed to elicit from the Rosetta Stone and other bilingual texts, under Dr. Birch's hand became a sound and genuine study. Weighing the conclusions and examining the theories propounded by such Egyptologists as Belzoni, Arundale, Wilkinson, Bonomi, Sharpe, Burton, Hincks, Prisse, Rosellini, Champollion Figéac, De Rougé, Harris, Young, Lepsius, Lauth, Brugseh, Pleyte, Chabas, Leemans, Goodwin, Le Page Renouf, and others, Dr. Birch constructed a grammar and dictionary which, with a few alterations needed to bring them up to the present standard, are still the text-books of the student.

His researches early attracted the attention of Baron Bunsen, at whose disposal he generously placed the publication of these works. In 1867 these took the form of three separate articles published in the fifth volume of *Egypt's Place in Universal History*. The first was a translation of the whole of the extensive "Funeral Ritual, or Book of the Dead"; the second, a "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics"; and the last a "Grammar". The difficulty of translating the "Ritual" was very great. Dr. Birch's work was the first attempt to give the whole as it was seen in the Turin copy, and to convey a general idea of this mystical work. The Dictionary is phonetic in its arrangement. At the

time of its appearance it was the only one printed, except that of Champollion, published in 1841, which contained only a few of the principal words.

We may here draw attention to the more important works which Dr. Birch has been engaged upon during his literary career. In 1842 he published his "Gallery of Antiquities"; the text of Owen Jones' "Views on the Nile", 1843; "Catalogue of Greek Vases" (with Mr. C. T. Newton), 1851; "Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics", 1857. In 1857 his "History of Ancient Pottery, Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman", was also published; and in 1873 a new and revised edition was issued. These were published by Mr. Murray. In 1863 appeared a treatise on the "Himyaritic Inscriptions of Southern Arabia"; a "Magical Papyrus" in 1864; in 1872, "Cypriote Inscriptions"; "The Records of the Past", 1873-77, a series of twelve volumes containing translations of Egyptian and Assyrian texts by various scholars, edited by Dr. Birch; "A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum", 1874; the great "Harris Papyrus", containing the annals of Rameses III, with a translation, in 1876; a new edition of "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians", by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, in three volumes, 1878. In this work, as in the second edition of the "History of Ancient Pottery", he was assisted by his son Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A. In 1879 Dr. Birch brought out, for the authorities of the British Museum, "A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms"; and in 1880 he wrote a "Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle", for the Duke of Northumberland, which was printed for private distribution. In this work, also, his son, Mr. W. de G. Birch, assisted him. In 1883 "The Guide to the Konyunjik Gallery" of Assyrian Antiquities was prepared for the British Museum; and in this work Dr. Birch had the material assistance of Mr. T. G. Pinches, the Assyriologist of the Museum.

Dr. Birch had in the press, for the British Museum, at the time of his death, the ancient text on the coffin of Amam, who flourished in the eleventh dynasty, a very early period of Egyptian history. He was also preparing a comprehensive catalogue of the large collection of papyri. He prepared the greater part of a new dictionary of hieroglyphics, suggested by the late Mr. N. Trübner, the publisher, who had undertaken to publish the work in a manner befitting the difficult nature of the subject. Other labours, on "A Papyrus belonging to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales", "The Tablet of Karnak", "The Trilingual Inscription of the Decree of Canopus", "The Rhind Papyri", and "Cleopatra's Needle" (published in our *Journal*), appeared from time to time, besides many other contributions to Egyptology and archæology. In Cypriote antiquities, as expounded by the Cesnolas, Dr. Birch took a

profound interest, writing for General L. P. di Cesnola the descriptive text of the Great Album of the New York Collections; and for Major A. P. di Cesnola an introductory chapter to his *Salaminia*. The Coptic, Phœnician, Lycian, Etruscan, and Chaldæan languages were others of Dr. Birch's favourite studies; and he was one of the first to denounce the Shapira forgeries. It remains to be seen whether or not his opinion of the hieroglyph Hamathite inscriptions, from the neighbourhood of Jerablus, of which the British Museum is acquiring a representative collection, is correct. He always expected a good bilingual inscription to turn up. He also contributed frequently to the periodical and scientific literature of the day, including the transactions of learned societies and the columns of *The Times*, *The Athenæum*, and *The Builder*.

Original in all his ideas, never borrowing from other works, but enunciating in his own terse language the profound results which a keen and critical intellect enabled him to formulate without difficulty, his works will leave their mark firmly fixed on the minds of his readers. Kind and genial in manner, and studious to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of others, he always endeavoured to encourage the youngest students in the many subjects with which he had so thoroughly identified himself.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

MICHAEL FLANAGAN died on July 19th, 1885, and was interred in Bow Cemetery. Some will, no doubt, marvel who Michael Flanagan was, and why his name should appear in our *Journal*. He was a man who, known *personally* to only a select few, has yet played an important part in the archæological world, and there are special reasons why he should not pass away without a brief record in our pages.

Born of Irish parents, some seventy years back, in London, he never journeyed further from the Metropolis than Gravesend and Guildford; and as he could neither read nor write, all his knowledge was of a local character; but that knowledge was not to be despised. Very early in life he became a navvy, and for years was employed on the chief excavations carried on in the City, and from which he gathered a countless number of antiquities, and acquired a knowledge which enabled him to speak with certainty of where and at what depth an object was found years after the time of its discovery. Through the exertions of Flanagan, the Roach Smith, Chaffer, Price, Newman, Gunston, Baily, Bonsfield, Brent, Mayhew, and Cuming collections owed many of their choicest London relics.

After toiling for some years as a navvy, Flanagan abandoned the high boots, spade, and pickaxe, and became a dealer in antiquities, and for a time displayed his stores in a large shed near the site of the old Steelyard, where the chief collectors were frequently to be seen culling from the heaps of objects which were for months being daily brought hither by the finders. At length the site of this shed was required for railway purposes, the store of relics was scattered, and little has been seen or heard of Flanagan from this time.

Though in some degree involved in the sale of the Billy and Charlie forgeries, Flanagan lent a powerful aid in exposing the fraud, and thus drew upon himself several bitter enemies. He was also well acquainted with the doings of Flinn, "the Irish Giant", a man of cultured mind, whose vices had sunk to the level of a navvy. Flinn was very great in forging inscriptions, and some would be glad to trace a pot of grey earth, with a few large letters on its neck, that he called into existence. Among Flanagan's good works may be mentioned his unmasking the chicanery of a scamp named Green, who was so deeply implicated with the chopping up of stout, coloured glass-tubing, and then rubbing the pieces flat, to pass off as ancient beads; and who also had a hand in boiling infants' bone teeth-rings with logwood, to turn them into a pair of bracelets of a Roman child.

Those who were familiar with Flanagan will not soon forget his short, ill-made person, and his round, cheerful face and merry twinkle of the eye. He has gone to his rest; and at the day of judgment may his kindness of heart be counted in some measure in mitigation for his many failings!

H. S. C.

Remarkable Discovery at Clapham.—Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., our Associate, has made recently an interesting discovery under the Church of St. Paul in Clapham. This church stands by the side of the Wandsworth Road, the Station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway being close to it. It is an ugly, brick, modern building, dating from the year 1814 chiefly, some part having lately been added to form a new chancel. It occupies the site of the original parish church of Clapham (St. Mary's), which, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1774, was superseded in favour of the present Clapham Church of Holy Trinity, standing upon the Common.

Mr. Grover, in *The Standard*, states: "St. Paul's arose in 1814, on the ruins of the old building, around which the gravestones and tombstones clustered. In preparing for a lecture on 'Old Clapham', I was induced to investigate the subject of the original church, and from the description of some very interesting ancient monuments (now non-existent) came to the conclusion that there must be truth in a legend which said that they were buried in a vault beneath the present build-

ing. I communicated with the Burial Board here on the subject, and, thanks to the efforts of an active member of that worthy body, Mr. Aldridge, we have had a trial-hole sunk in the old churchyard, and have had not only the good fortune to come upon the entrance to the vault itself, but to discover its most interesting contents : indeed, the visit I paid with some difficulty down to it was more like going into an enchanted cave than a tomb. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, with its smoke and steam and telegraphs, I was suddenly transferred to the days when the Lord Protector Cromwell was living here in our Manor House, and planting mulberry-trees behind it. Sir Richard Atkins, lord of the manor of Clapham, Sheriff of the county of Bucks in the days of the Commonwealth, stood at the entrance, in white marble, being clad in armour, with a flowing peruke. Behind him stood a lovely child, Rebecca, aged nine, his daughter, having a pretty frock with lace collar and wristbands. In front, and facing them, sat the son, Henry, aged twenty-four, in a Roman dress, but with a flowing peruke. Passing on we found two ladies in the vault beyond,—Lady Rebecca, the mother, recumbent, having a long veil, fine, bold features, and double chin, a handsome woman ; beside her the eldest daughter, Annabella, aged nineteen, who died in the first years of womanhood, in Paris, on the 1st of Jannary 1670. She is dressed in a gown with full sleeves and tight, low bodice, hair short and curled ; and she sits beside her mother, with a book in her left hand, her finger between the leaves. She is a beautiful young lady, with refined, delicately chiselled features ; and as we held the lamp to her pale, fair face, we could not but regret her untimely end, and that her monument should so long have been consigned to the same darkness as her remains.”

La Sculpture Antique, Origines, Description, Classification des Monuments de l’Egypte et de la Grèce. Par ADRIEN WAGNON, Doctor au Philosophie, Privat-Docent à l’Université de Genève. (Paris: J. Rothschild, Editeur, 13 Rue des Saints-Pères. 1885.)—This is a work of considerable interest, and which will be hailed by antiquaries with gratification, for it is an essay to establish certain facts by means of comparison, pure and simple, of the works of ancient Greece and those of ancient Egypt. This method, thanks to the accumulation of data before unattainable, is now easy ; and the work before us is gratifying in showing how much new light may be thrown upon a subject by the process chosen,—a mode of treatment which must, in the natural sequence of things, be in the time present, as well as in time future, a valuable help to all such studies as these. The work will add materially to the credit of its learned author, Dr. Adrien Wagnon.

Modern research has already accumulated such a mass of informa-

tion unknown to our antiquarian predecessors, that the art of comparison, the study of the analogy of one work of art with another, is now, indeed, no small part of an archæologist's vocation. "He sees born resemblances between them that had not been supposed. There seems nothing more national than some special work of art, and yet by comparison we discover between certain of them artistic types of different nations and unexpected affinities." "By comparison, in the domain of art as in nature, we can trace the evolution of certain forms." "On this unexplored earth", so to speak, "we can proceed only with extreme prudence, and we should fear surprises and illusions. One's head may turn a little in thinking that the explorer is working upon materials which have remained for several thousands of years before our era, and which will, without doubt, change the history of the relationships of the people of antiquity."

Reference is made to the errors of a similar science, the study of the resemblance of words to words, and of the mistakes made by the earlier students, mere resemblance of sound having been followed as a guide rather than the more sure test of grammatical resemblance: mistakes which have caused the edifice to be taken down piecemeal by younger disciples, and erected upon a surer basis in our own time. Our author has, perhaps, fallen into some such errors in the work before us, some of which will be noted as we proceed. The more recent discoveries of Mr. Flinders Petrie at Naucratis are necessarily not referred to in the book before us, and the knowledge derived from them, of the existence of a colony of Greek artists on Egyptian soil, has not been possessed by our author.

The parallel of the works of Egypt with those of Greece is fairly well adhered to, but attention is drawn as well to some of those of Assyria. Thus reference is made to Istubar and to M. Raoul Rochette's indication of that hero's resemblance to the Greek Hercules, which again has analogy with the history of the Jewish Samson.

Speaking of the variations of national styles, the author indicates, for instance, the difference of treatment of nude statuary by the Greeks to the work of Assyrian or Egyptian artists. The nude Aphrodite introduced for the first time into Greek art by Phidias, in the western pediment of the Parthenon, is a totally different conception to the earlier works of the countries named. In Assyria the artist covered his figure with rich costume or with fantastic arabesques. In Egypt the sculptor copied the realistic nudities which existed around him. In the Chaldæo-Assyrian art the nudity even of the goddess Istar is an exception to general treatment, as was, indeed, the case with the Aphrodite of Phidias; and on this account the coarse nudity of the Assyrian works may have been intended to inspire her votaries with a sort of religious horror. It is pointed out, however, that the treat-

ment of nudity in Greece was totally different, an ideal perfection of beauty being aimed at. Nude, or nearly nude, statuary in Greece existed long anterior to the time of Phidias, the sculptures of the Temple of Egina, six hundred years before our era, being instanced. There is nothing, says our author, of Assyrian art, or Egyptian, or Oriental, in the conception of the treatment of the nude statues of Greece but the working out of the national sentiment. This is well argued. But may we not be permitted to believe that the analogy of the earliest Greek art may still be found to accord with much which is also found in the works of earlier nations? It is well known that in this very instance cited, the nudity of statuary, the earliest works of Greece, including Aphrodite herself, were draped, resembling in this respect the works of other nations; and it is these earlier rather than later works that should be compared, if we would trace, as we believe we may, resemblances inspired by the works of other peoples. When art, from whatever sources may have been its beginnings, became national, it would of course present national characteristics more or less different from its first essays.

The terra-cotta funereal figures of Aphrodite, which have all the characters of the Istar of Assyrian art, found in confessedly Greek tombs in a wide range of country, extending from Cyprus to Magna Græcia, are accounted for by having been imported by the Phœnicians; but they are not supposed by our author to have had influence on Greek art, and their Oriental influence has been limited to the art of funereal monuments. The types borrowed from Egypt by Greece are limited to the Sphinx, the Harpy, the Siren having the body of a bird, and the funereal Aphrodite already referred to. The belief in the existence of another world, and the continuance after death of the occupations practised during life, are general. They are found in China as in Egypt, in Greece as in Italy, and among the savages of America. This belief may account for the use of the types referring to it, common alike to Egypt and Greece, and to the existence even of Aphrodite in her coarser form after the more ideal aspect of the goddess had been developed by the genius of the Greek people. The comparison of various conceptions of Aphrodite, figured on Plate 2, are very curious.

The Sphinx may not be said to have changed its sex when imported into Greek art, for there are female Sphinxes in Egypt. Nevertheless, the female Sphinx is general in Greece. While in Egypt the Sphinxes, male and female, symbolise supreme power, in Greece the signification is entirely transformed. It represents death, or sometimes feminine seduction. The influence of the Egyptian idea has in no way penetrated into the spirit of the Greek nation. In like manner the Siren of Egypt has different attributes when used in Greece, while it is more

than probable that the attributes of the Siren have changed more than once in earlier times, and have had an Aryan origin anterior to the influence either of Assyria or Egypt.

In addition to some types borrowed from these two nations, Greek archaeology presents a vast number of forms purely Aryan. While the former are but accidents, the latter are normal and successive productions of the development of the national Greek idea, the origin of which may be sought for in the myths of India. While borrowed types occur on tombs alone, the Centaurs, Hippocamps, Satyrs, and the like, which are considered to have been indigenous to the Greek race (brought by them from a common Aryan stock), occur on public buildings, in works of art, and in others having the closest relations with the public life of the people.

Funereal rites, as distinguished from these, are dwelt upon more than once, and many customs of foreign origin referred to. Thus the custom of covering the face of a deceased is found not only in Greece, but in Egypt, Assyria, the south of Russia, Germany, Italy, and in America. The origin of this custom cannot be traced to Egypt, and the author, in chapter xiv, indicates that it is an Indian custom.

Turning to the supposed influence of Phœnician art upon the early works of Greece, it is shown that the earliest temples of this people had no statues of their gods. It is probable that the later forms imparted to them were derived either from Assyria or from archaic Greek art. Should this be so, it is evident that the arts of this maritime people have had no influence upon those of the Greek nation. Modern research has shown, with fair evidences of proof, that skilful as were the Phœnician artists and artisans, they were content to reproduce the works of art for their customers, whether of Greece or Egypt, and that they imitated the objects for which they could obtain a sale rather than work out a style of their own.

Finally, while the Greek people may have borrowed some forms from the Semitic East, the modifications which they have undergone, and which cause us to admire them in our own days, are due to the Aryan idea, like Greek flesh seen to palpitate beneath a borrowed garment.

To turn to the contents of the book. The disaccord of previous writers is referred to, such as Thiersch and Oreebeck, and the descriptions by Herodotus of Egyptian art are dwelt upon, and the character of the ancient Egyptians stated to be neither warlike, enterprising, nautical, nor vindictive. Yet we know by extant monuments that Egyptian armies penetrated beyond Lebanon, and Egyptian conquests extended far up the Nile, while the commercial relations of the people were far extended in Arabia. A good parallel is drawn, indicative of the difference of the national monuments of Greece from those of Egypt,

by the comparative smallness and grace of the former to the enormous extent and massiveness of the latter; and certainly the contrast is very apparent, the difference of the genius of the two peoples in this respect being very striking. Yet the resemblance of the details is too apparent to be passed over in silence. Both people alike have used columns, their temples have architraves constructed according to the same general principles, columns are arranged in rows, and have the same parts in Egypt as in Greece.

Some interesting chapters refer to the arts in Egypt, with the use of animals to represent divinities, the practice of fetishism, the usual application of the head of an animal to the body of a man to represent the form of a god, the slavery of the art of the people to the numerous traditions. A parallel is then drawn of the greater independence of Greek art, which is ideal rather than sensual, and variable rather than uniform. Chapter xvi is still more interesting, since it lays stress—not at all too strongly—upon the value of the method of comparative archæology. The descriptive chapters are naturally closed by a parallel of the manners of the Greek people and those of the Egyptians, as narrated by Herodotus, with the object of showing how dissimilar they were. This being so, the works of art are not likely to have had many points of resemblance. The Apollo of Tenea is particularly referred to in the Appendix, and a plate of this archaic figure is given.

There are fourteen plates; but this small number is compensated for by the fact that many contain each several figures, in which many points of resemblance between works of various early artists, and points of divergence, are shown, the frontispiece being a photogravure of the bust of Socrates in the Naples Museum.

The English in the Middle Ages, from the Norman Usurpation to the Days of the Stuarts; their Mode of Life, Dress, Arms, Occupations, and Amusements, as illustrated by the Mediæval Remains in the British Museum. By J. FREDERICK HODGETTS. (London: Whiting and Co.) 1885.—The author, whose *Older England* was noticed in our *Journal* at the time of its issue, has herein continued to traverse the lines upon which his previous researches were founded. In this present work we have the text of the Lectures which Mr. Hodgetts was liberally permitted by the authorities of the British Museum to deliver during the course of last summer, with the especial advantage of having the objects which he refers to themselves before the eyes of his audience. It is in this respect that Mr. Hodgetts has advanced considerably beyond his predecessors. To be able to point to objects of mediæval antiquity, and to relics of past manners and customs, is not only a great boon to the lecturer, but to the listener and the student the gain is incalculable.

This method of illustrating lectures by delivering them in the very institutions which are devoted to the preservation of the *materiel* is, perhaps, not new to foreign countries; but in England it is a welcome step in the right direction of educational advance. We may go further, and say that we hope the day is not far distant when the academical nature of the great museums of England will be far more extensively recognised and established even than now. There was a time, not long past, when our best museums were little better than curiosity bazaars, like some provincial collections at present, where objects of natural history, ethnology, and fine arts, are commingled in picturesque disregard of the proprieties of classification. That, however, is giving way now to a new order of things, which recognises the value of teaching that everything can convey a valuable lesson if its theme be but handled by a cunning master. Mr. Hodgetts is one of these. He resuscitates the mail-armed Norman knight, the shaven monk, the warrior, the priest, the handicraftsman, the minstrel, and the merchant; and from the handle of a sword inlaid with gold, the inscribed blade of a knife, the chased metal rim of a purse, the turned wood drinking-cup, a brooch, a book-clasp, a porcelain platter, or a finger-ring, reconstructs for the moment the time and occasion of their employment, and passes rapidly before the reader the shadowy ghost of the departed *cultus* of our forefathers. Eminently qualified as he is, in many ways, for a public lecturer, we congratulate Mr. Hodgetts that he has put into the form of a permanent record the expositions which were listened to with very great appreciation when he delivered them.



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